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COUREUR DE BOIS: A DEFINITION

THE class of men known as the *coureurs de bois* has played so important a part in the history of Canada and North America that it will be worth while to establish exactly what we mean by that term. Like the group to which it is applied, the phrase has undergone an evolution, acquiring different connotations for various people and in varying circumstances. To this day it has received no fixed or final significance which is understood and agreed upon by all who use the term. It has, indeed, been very loosely used by writers of all sorts, including historians.

To the best of my knowledge the expression *courir les bois* was first used in a printed work by the Recollet missionary, Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, in his *Histoire du Canada*, published in Paris in 1636. In describing Father Dolbeau's winter visit to the Montagnais in 1615 he says the father went to the Indians "to lodge with them, to learn their tongue, to catechise them" and "*courir les bois avec eux.*" Chapter 12 of Book II of the *Histoire* is entitled, "*Comme les Canadiens cabangent et courent les bois.*" When pointing out the remarkable facility with which a man like Etienne Brûlé got about the country as compared with himself and other Frenchmen he says: "It is difficult, almost impossible, for all the French still unused to this Indian country to make long trips and *courir les bois et forestes.*" And finally he used the term in describing his own actions, when he stated "that is what made me *courir les bois et les lieux escartez* to seek out small fruits."¹

Sagard clearly uses the term *courir les bois* to mean simply travelling, or wandering, or getting about, in the woods. There is a hint of a special adaptability by some to this manner of life which indicates the direction to which the phrase may alter its sense later. In general, then, Sagard is merely applying the accepted French use of *courir* or *courieur* to Canadian conditions. The term *courir le pays* meant in France *voyager*, i.e. "to travel about."²

¹Gabriel Sagard-Théodat, *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1860), I, 39, 239, 248, 271; II, 429; IV, 845.

²Dictionnaire de l'Académie Franoise (Paris, 1762).

And a *courieur* was hence a *voyageur*, a traveller, though apparently these words carried a shade of meaning which is very interesting in view of the later uses of *courieur de bois* in Canada. Furetière makes them synonyms and defines them as signifying "a man who does not know how to stay at home."³ Certainly such a frame of mind was one which the French government deplored in the *courieur de bois*.

Whether such terms were in general use after Sagard is a matter of some doubt. They were so natural an extension of French usage that they were to be expected from almost anyone. Moreover Sagard's books existed with these examples. Nevertheless the terms do not appear in print again for a long time. Despite the fact that the character and activities of the French who lived in the woods was a persistent theme of the Jesuit fathers, the term *courieur de bois* does not appear in the *Jesuit Relations* proper at all. In the Thwaites edition it is used first in an allied document, a letter of Father Crepieul of 1686.⁴ This lack of use would seem to indicate that the term was unknown or uncommon, or perhaps regarded as slang and improper in a document of literary pretensions. A more satisfactory explanation seems to be that under the prevailing frontier conditions the bulk of the population lived in a semi-settled state in which mobility was more characteristic than fixity. Consequently, since a large number of *habitants* was constantly coming and going in the woods, they were to writers like the Jesuit fathers only the French in the woods. Moreover, it would have been unwise policy from their point of view to help these wanderers to develop a group consciousness by dubbing them with a special name. When they were simply the French in the woods they could be considered as subject to all the conventions and obligations of the French at home. It was the colonial administration which by the middle of the seventeenth century was trying to mark them off as a distinct class, and an illegal one, though the church, finding these men slipping out of its control, stood firmly behind the government, and even spurred it on in its efforts to curb the *coureurs*.

Edicts designed to curb the number of French entering and living in the woods begin to appear with Governor Lauzon as early

³A. Furetière, *Dictionnaire universel* (Rotterdam, 1690).

⁴R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland, 1896-1901), LXIII, 257, Father Crepieul, Report of April 7, 1686. The regular issues of the *Jesuit Relations* came to an end in 1673.

as 1652,⁵ but it was not until the establishment of direct royal government, with the rule of men like Courcelle and Talon, Frontenac and Duchesneau, that these efforts became serious and sustained. It was not till then that the term *courieur de bois* appeared in government documents. But from then on it was constantly present as denunciation and amnesty succeeded each other in endless alternation. On November 10, 1670, Talon, moved by the need of fostering the development of the permanent settlements, wrote to Louis XIV that the *coureurs de bois* were being outlawed for failing to conform to the marriage edict. He stated that they lived like "banditti," and defined them as "vagabonds," and pleaded for a *lettre de cachet* to enable him to force them to settle down.⁶ Two years later Frontenac complained to Colbert that these *coureurs de bois* would soon be in the same class as "the banditti of Naples, and the Buccaneers of Saint Domingo."⁷ Thus the government attempted to give to the term *courieur de bois* a connotation of evil and illegality, i.e. those who go to the woods in defiance of the king, of the law of the realm, and of the good interests of the settlements.

From the outset, however, it was obvious that men could not be prevented from going to the woods, and so, as early as 1654, Lauzon devised a system of permits or *congés*. This system was reformed, abandoned, and reformed time and again throughout the French period. During most of this time the colonial administration tried to drive a wedge between the men who went into the woods legally on the basis of permits, and those who went illegally without permits. These latter they called *coureurs de bois*. In this definition they were successful enough so that a favour-seeker like the *procureur-général*, Auteuil, found it worthwhile in writing to the colonial minister Pontchartrain in 1704 to point out that "there is not a single member of either my family or that of my wife who has contravened the will of the King by going à la course des bois, or by doing any other forbidden thing."⁸

Nevertheless any close study of the *congés* will reveal that they were abused. Men holding permits committed acts which were defined by the government as those of the *coureurs de bois*. The same men might be in the woods legally one year as holders of

⁵See order of Governor Lauzon, made April 13, 1652, in *Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec pour 1924-5*, 377.

⁶E. B. O'Callaghan (ed.), *Documents relating to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (Albany, 1865-6), IX, 65, Talon to Louis XIV, Nov. 10, 1670.

⁷Ibid., IX, 90, Frontenac to Colbert, Nov. 2, 1672.

⁸*Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec pour 1922-3*, 15, Auteuil to Pontchartrain, Nov. 14, 1704.

congés, and illegally the next year because they had no permits, so that in the eyes of the administration they would be good citizens one year and *coureurs de bois* the next. Hence this narrower meaning of the term was an untenable connotation being applicable at no time to any well-defined body of men. Charlevoix's use of the term in his *Journal* published in 1744 indicates how true this was. He says: ". . . the merchants unwilling to receive any more [furs], our adventurers, called here *coureurs de bois*, or hunters, resolved to carry them to the English. . . ."⁹

Meanwhile the term *voyageur* became more commonly used. Originally synonymous with *courieur*, as we have shown, it assumed gradually a distinctive meaning of its own. As the term *courieur de bois* became flavoured with illegality, *voyageur* tended to do duty as meaning "trader," or, by implication, "legal trader." Father Carheil, reporting to Governor Callière in 1702 on the state of affairs in the up-country says the military garrisons "serve only to injure the ordinary trade of the *voyageurs*." Proceeding, he argues: "Now if they be useless to the savages, they are still more so to the *voyageurs* who obtain Permission to come up here to trade, and who alone are entitled to do so, to the exclusion of all others. . . ." Yet *voyageur* and *courieur de bois* had by no means become divorced as Father Carheil goes on to talk about "fugitive *voyageurs*"—these would be called *coureurs de bois* by the government. A little further the father says: "Since his Majesty has ordered the *voyageurs* and the *coureurs de bois* to be recalled, and has granted them an amnesty to facilitate their return, that Recall has not pleased every one."¹⁰ Here we see he uses the two terms but in such a way as to show that His Majesty makes little or no distinction between them. A similar loose usage is to be found in Auteuil's memoir to the Duc d'Orléans in 1715 when he states: "It would be very proper to speak here of the inconveniences of the 'voyages' which are made to the most remote nations to obtain their beaver and furs. This is commonly called *faire la course des bois* and this kind of *voyageur*, *courieur de bois*. . . ."¹¹

This sort of confusion seems to have persisted to the end of the French period. Bougainville wrote of the Canadians in 1757 as being "indefatigable for hunting, for *les courses*, *les voyages* which

⁹F. X. de Charlevoix, *Histoire et description de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1744), III, 89.

¹⁰Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations*, LXV, 194-5, 212-13, 214-15, Father Carheil to Governor Callière, Aug. 30, 1702.

¹¹See *Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec pour 1922-3*, 60.

they make in the up-country, lazy for the cultivation of the land."¹² The term *courieur de bois*, however, appears to have dropped more and more out of use either because of the unpleasant meaning affixed to it by the government; or because, the illicit trade having become more or less accepted and organized as a part of the colonial system, the concept of the *courieur de bois* as an illicit trader came to have little meaning; or because with the increasing size and security of the colony the problem of the *courieur de bois* became less pressing.

Voyageur continued to be used as a general term for those who travelled or lived in the woods, and, at the same time, to develop its more specialized meaning of "fur trader." As the fur trade became more fully organized, and specialized functions appeared, the more restricted meaning narrowed still further. *Voyageur* now meant the lesser or subordinate trader, and the canoe-men—in other words, the hired help of the traders or companies. Yet in popular use these narrower meanings seem always to have been confused with the wider ones.

Both terms, *voyageur* and *courieur de bois*, have occurred in current use in Canadian French. *Coureurs de bois* is used at present to mean "hunter, trapper of the woods, living by hunting and carrying on the fur trade."¹³ *Voyageur* is now synonymous with *aventurier*.¹⁴ It also means a "discoverer, explorer of unknown lands, or thinly populated territory," and, in this sense, it is to be applied "especially to the explorers of the past, to all who pushed by an insatiable need of adventure and novelty advanced steadily and boldly, trading with the Indians, naming sites, tracing the course of streams, etc."¹⁵ Thus *courieur de bois* has lost its sense of illegality with the disappearance of the historical setting in which such a meaning had sense, and has emerged with a narrower meaning than its one-time companion term, *voyageur*. The latter, on the other hand, has monopolized the wider meaning once shared by both, and has lost its specialized connotations.

Wherever frontier conditions have prevailed there have been men, or groups of men, who have preferred for one reason or

¹²Bougainville, "Mémoire sur l'état de la Nouvelle-France (1757)" (*Rapport de l'Archiviste de . . . Québec pour 1923-4*, 58).

¹³La Société du Parler Français au Canada (ed.), *Glossaire du parler français au Canada* (Québec, 1930), 238; N. E. Dionne, *Le Parler populaire des Canadiens français* (Québec, 1909), 193.

¹⁴*Glossaire*, 702; Dionne, *Parler populaire*, 668. This authority, writing in 1909, clings to the older meanings of hired help of the companies of the north-west, and of traders.

¹⁵J. C. Taché, *Forestiers et voyageurs* (Montreal, 1884), 6.

another to spend the bulk of their days beyond the edge of settlement though they kept in contact with the settlers, and were perhaps part-time settlers themselves. The lure may have been gold, as in California and the Klondike, fur, as in Canada, or plain adventure, but whatever the motives this social phenomenon was by no means confined to New France—the *courieur de bois* was not unique. One therefore looks for equivalent terms in other languages and other places.

It is with English that we are primarily concerned here, and in English we find a number of terms used to describe this sort of man; used also as translations of *courieur de bois*. When Governor Bellomont of New York reported to the Lords of Trade in 1700, he announced that the French government was offering pardon to "a number of French hunters (whom they call *coureurs de bois*) who have been in rebellion. . . ."¹⁶ This meaning of "hunter" we are interested to note is the one which we found to be now current in Canadian French. But the word "hunter" hardly conveys to us the attitude of mind which we have come to associate with the older *courieur de bois*. In that respect the word "ranger," used alone or in one of its several combinations, i.e. bushranger, forest-ranger, woods-ranger, is more enlightening. "Ranger" was a word used commonly in the English colonies to describe men who lived all or most of their lives in the woods, and who were intimately conversant with the ways of the woods, including the customs of the Indians. It may be objected that most of these English rangers had homes and families, and other social commitments to the settlements. So they did, but so, too, did the large proportion of the *coureurs de bois*. In neither case can any sharp line be drawn between the constantly settled population and the less constantly settled population, between the settler and the woodsman. Because of their special knowledge of the woods and of Indian ways, men like Rogers' Rangers, or woodsmen, were the most valuable American colonial troops just as the *coureurs de bois* were their most dangerous opponents when fighting had to be done in the woods.

Parkman, and others, probably following his lead, translate *courieur de bois* by "bushranger," though they use the French form more frequently than the English word.¹⁷ Now their word, along with its relations, "bushwhacker" and "bushbeater," has been

¹⁶C'Callaghan (ed.), *N.Y. Col. Docs.*, IV, 715, Bellomont to Lords of Trade, Oct. 1700.

¹⁷F. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada* (Boston, 1880), 310.

used for a long time in the United States to mean a person living in, or frequenting the bush, or the woods, and is so defined in all the standard dictionaries. In the form of "bushwhacker" it is regarded as synonymous with "woodsman" by the *New Oxford Dictionary*.¹⁸ But "bushwhacker" has acquired very specialized meanings that make it an unsuitable English equivalent for *courieur de bois*, e.g. that of outlaw, highwayman, escaped convict in Australia; and that of guerilla soldier, marauder in the United States.¹⁹ "Bushbeater" is a virtually unused word, and "bushranger" has none of the historical associations of *courieur de bois*.

O'Callaghan, in his edition of the *New York Colonial Documents* translates *courieur de bois* by "forest-rangers" whom he says are "so called from employing their whole life in the rough exercise of transporting merchandise to the lakes of Canada and all other countries of that continent in order to trade with the savages."²⁰ This definition is based on La Hontan, and is here applied to Canadian conditions though it accords with the English colonial one of ranger. However, the term "forest-ranger" has in our time assumed a technical meaning that is widely used, and to translate *courieur de bois* by this term would lead now only to confusion.

Thwaites, the editor of the great English edition of the *Jesuit Relations*, and others use "woodranger" or "woodsrunner" as the equivalent English term.²¹ Again there is some justification, both linguistic and historical for this translation. But again, too, we have a term that lacks the historical associations of *courieur de bois* so that to a historian it seems an unsuitable term.²²

In other words, a term like *courieur de bois* gains shades of meaning, nuances, through historical and geographical associations, which cannot be translated into any other language even though similar types of people, as in this case, may have existed when these other languages were used. It seems, therefore, that

¹⁸A *New English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1888).

¹⁹For Australian usage see *ibid.* (bushranger). For American usage see N. Webster, *New International Dictionary* (Springfield, 1934); A *New English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1888); Funk and Wagnalls, *New Standard Dictionary* (New York, 1927).

²⁰O'Callaghan (ed.), *N.Y. Col. Docs.*, IX, 65, note 1.

²¹Wood-, or woods-runner is also used at times. This obvious literal translation has never received much favour. It was used by J. Fiske, *New France and New England* (Boston, 1902), 105-6.

²²Certain other words should be mentioned, i.e., frontiersman, backwoodsman, swampier. The first two of this trio refer usually to settlers in a pioneering area, or on the fringe of settled areas, though they are sometimes used with meanings like those given to ranger, and *courieur de bois*. The last word is rare and very local in use. The Dutch settlers in New York translated *courieur de bois* by "Bos Looper," or "bush loper." This word was used by Dr. J. G. Shea in his translation of Charlevoix, *History of New France*, IV, 16; V, 64, 77.

courieur de bois is an untranslatable term, and must be used in English as well as in French if it is used at all.²³

Historians have used *courieur de bois* in all its various shades of meaning but there has been no agreement in usage amongst them. Some, like R. G. Thwaites and Miss Nute, have limited the term to the sense of illicit trader.²⁴ Others have accepted this meaning, and used it so, but have also used it with the meaning of "fur trader," or "trader" in general. To this group belong F. J. Turner, W. B. Munro, G. M. Wrong, H. A. Innis, M. Q. Innis, J. Ferland, and E. Rameau.²⁵ There are other historians who, though they accept these meanings, and include them in their usage, add to them the further idea of adventurer, of rover, of preference for the life of the woods. Here belong Parkman, G. W. Colby, J. Douglas, E. Salone, P. E. Renaud, C. Wittke, and two authors of the *Makers of Canada* series.²⁶ F. X. Garneau does not use the term though he indicts severely the Canadians who gave themselves up to hunting and to the life of adventure to the detriment of the colony.²⁷ Is it then possible to choose one of these uses or, if not, to discover one that may be more suitable?

We have already shown that the term cannot with reason be confined to the meaning of "illicit trader." For the meanings "fur trader" and "trader" there is much more basis since, admittedly, the overwhelming majority of the *coureurs de bois* were traders, drawn to the woods by the lure of the fur trade. But there were other motives too. Who is to say how much of the lure of the fur trade, in addition to the lust of gain, was compounded of the fascination of adventurous living, the joy of discovery, the freedom from the restraints of a strait-laced com-

²³It is of some interest that the term *courieur de bois* occurs in all the standard American dictionaries and encyclopedias but does not occur in any standard English dictionary nor in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* before it was taken over by American interests.

²⁴Thwaites (ed.), *Jesuit Relations*, LXIII, 272; G. L. Nute, *The Voyageur* (New York, 1931), 7.

²⁵F. J. Turner, "The Character and Influence of the Fur Trade in Wisconsin" (*Proceedings of . . . the State Historical Society of Wisconsin*, 1889, 52-98); W. B. Munro, "The Coureurs de Bois" (*Proceedings of Massachusetts Historical Society*, LVII, 1923-4, 192-205); G. M. Wrong, *The Rise and Fall of New France* (Toronto, 1928), I, 415; H. A. Innis, *Fur Trade in Canada* (New Haven, 1930), 59; M. Q. Innis, *An Economic History of Canada* (Toronto, 1935), 24; J. G. A. Ferland, *Cours d'histoire du Canada* (Quebec, 1882), II, 312; E. Rameau, *La France aux colonies* (Paris, 1859), 116-19.

²⁶F. Parkman, *The Old Régime in Canada*, 304-5, 309-15; G. W. Colby, *Canadian Types of the Old Régime* (New York, 1908), chap. vi; J. Douglas, *Old France in the New World* (Cleveland, 1905), 131-2, 165-6; E. Salone, *La Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France* (Paris, 1906), 250-64; P. E. Renaud, *Les Origines économiques du Canada* (Mamers, 1928), 173-8; C. Wittke, *A History of Canada* (New York, 1933), 28; A. Leblond de Brumath, *Bishop Laval* (*Makers of Canada*, Toronto, 1910), 158-9; W. D. Le Sueur, *Count Frontenac* (*ibid.*, Toronto, 1910), 37, 88-9.

²⁷F. X. Garneau, *Histoire du Canada* (Paris, 1920), I, 234.

munity? If this be true, and we hold it so to be, it not only leads to the opinion that the third and widest use of the term is the most acceptable, but it takes us back to the first meaning applied to the term, i.e. all those who go into the woods. At least, if we except the missionaries, a few officials and military men, who went to the woods not from choice but in the line of duty, then all the rest must be regarded as *coureurs de bois*.

What, then, was the problem of the *courieur de bois*? The problem of the *courieur de bois* for both government and church in New France lay in the fact that this group of men, with the manner of life and the attitude of mind which they exhibited, constituted the most imposing, the most adamantine obstacle in the path of those who desired to establish a strong, secure, and religious colony on a lasting foundation. It mattered little to either administrative or ecclesiastical authorities whether these men went to the woods for gain, for adventure, or for any other motive. What mattered was that they deserted the settlements, and that by this abandonment they retarded agriculture, crippled industry, played havoc with the labours of the missionaries, undermined commercial development, diminished religious feeling, threatened the defence of the colony, insulted the traditions and conventions, and menaced the continuance of French control in the region. Why they went to the woods made little difference. The fact that counted was that they went. Making some of the *coureurs de bois* outlaws was never more than a device to get around the obstacle as a whole. It appears, then, that the problem of the *courieur de bois* can be profitably and properly studied only if *courieur de bois* is considered to mean, with the given exceptions, all those who went to the woods. Therefore I suggest this as the proper meaning of the term for historical usage.

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WOMEN OF NEW FRANCE*

(THREE RIVERS: 1651-63)

EXCEPT for three or four heroines of general renown—Madeleine de Verchères, Mademoiselle Mance, Madame de La Peltrie, and Marie de l' Incarnation—we know very little about the women of New France. And necessarily so. The documents most often consulted by historians have to do with matters of political importance rather than with simple household affairs. But there are available sources for the social historian which have as yet been little used and which serve to throw some light upon colonial domestic life. These include the notarial and law-court records of Quebec Province, Montreal, and Three Rivers.

The following essay relies principally upon the material relating to Three Rivers for the period 1651-63. There are two reasons for this choice of time and place. The first is documentary. Three Rivers is better supplied with early sources both of a judicial and a legal nature than either Quebec or Montreal.¹ The second reason is representative. Three Rivers, the half-way house

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¹The documents concerning Three Rivers for this period, are found in four places.

(1) The Court House at Three Rivers contains the documents described by M. Meilleur-Barthe in *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1920-1921* (Québec, 1921), that is: (a) the parish registers of births, marriages, and burials; (b) the judicial records consisting of summaries of hearings held before the *Lieutenant-civil et criminel*, the *procureur-fiscal*, the Governor of Three Rivers, and even the Governor of Quebec in appeal cases; the carrying out of judgments by the clerk of the court (*greffier*), the bailiff (*huissier*), or some other official, including such matters as the drafting of an inventory in succession cases, the report of the election of guardians for children, the notification of sentences of the court to interested persons, the delimitation of boundaries, etc.; (c) the notarial records, or *greffes*, being chiefly deeds of sale, donations, wills, and marriage contracts. These are very extensive. It is only the earliest notaries who interest us here: Audouart (one document only); Duplessis (1650-1); Flour Boujonnier (1650-2); Séverin Aneau (1652-1715); and Claude Herlin who practised at the Cap de la Madeleine (1659-63).

(2) The second depository is the Seminary of Three Rivers which contains the oldest records of the settlement, the originals of the first parish registers: that of burials begins in 1634, that of births in 1635, and that of marriages in 1654.

(3) The third depository is the Public Archives of Canada; it has copies of (a) the parish registers; of (b) the court records contained in the first package mentioned above, that is of those comprising the years 1651-63, with additional material for the years 1664, 1668, 1676, and 1682 (These are the documents described by M. Meilleur-Barthe on pp. 344-5 of *Rapport, 1920-1921*, paragraphs 1 to 10, with the exception of paragraphs 6, 7, 8, and 9 whose dates have been erroneously printed—René-Ovide Hertel and Haldimand belonging to the eighteenth century and the documents concerning them being placed in the second package, which has not been copied. These court records

between Quebec and Montreal, had something in common with each of these two settlements. Established in 1634, it shared with Quebec the tradition of a relatively well-organized corporative system, and with Montreal the precariousness of the frontier. It is therefore a microcosm in which to study the women of New France at a period before special regional characteristics became pronounced. Almost any general statement could be applied equally well to Quebec or Montreal.

The population of Three Rivers in the year 1653 has been estimated at 203 persons, divided into the following categories: married couples, 38; unmarried men, 13; boys, 38; girls, 26; soldiers, 50.² Ten years previously there had been no homes, only a wilderness. In 1634 troops and workmen had arrived at the mouth of the river now called the St. Maurice to make a clearing and build a fort and quarters for the garrison. This spot was already known to the fur traders and they soon began to bring their wives and families and build their own dwellings, becoming, in fact, veritable settlers. Among the first were the Godefroys and their relatives the Le Neuf brothers and their families. These men were fur traders who worked with two of the trusted agents of the Company of New France, Jacques Hertel and François Marguerie. The latter had a sister Marie at home in Normandy and evidently Hertel decided that she would make him a good wife. A bargain was struck between the two friends. Marguerie was to send for his sister who would take ship plentifully supplied with

have been exceedingly well transcribed for Ottawa, although certain lacunae and mistakes occur, almost inevitably owing to the difficulties of certain pieces); of (c) the records of the notary Aneau, copied from the beginning, 1652, to 1663 with two or three later ones. Unfortunately, these transcripts leave much to be desired, not only from the point of view of accuracy, but from that of legibility. They have already been adversely described by the Rev. Father Archange Godbout (*Les Pionniers de la région trifluvienne*, série 1: 1634 à 1647, Trois-Rivières, 1934, 9) so that there is no need to insist further. Yet inaccurate as these copies are, they are perhaps the best records and soon may be the only ones of Aneau's files for the years 1660-3. In 1910, year of the great Parisian flood, the Trifluvian Court House had a sympathetic minor inundation and Aneau's documents for the years 1660-3 were sadly damaged—some of them indeed obliterated.

(4) The fourth depository is the Provincial Museum at Quebec. The documents here are divided as follows: *Prévôté des Trois-Rivières*, vols. I and II (registers containing the court judgments during the years 1655-67; a few purely notarial documents such as deeds of sale, etc., have crept in here, a fact which is not surprising when we know that Aneau was not only clerk of the court but notary as well); *Trois-Rivières, Documents divers*, vols. I-III (these are miscellaneous documents arranged in a not very strict chronological order—the judicial documents concern the Cap de la Madeleine almost entirely); *Documents divers*, vols. II and III (miscellaneous documents of the same type as the preceding and deriving obviously from the same locality).

²Armour Landry, *Bribes d'histoire* (Pages trifluviennes, série A, no. 1, Trois-Rivières, 1932), 25. Unfortunately, there is no explanation of these figures nor of the source from which they are taken.

clothing, linen, and household utensils all to be paid for by the distant brother. The two men made the marriage contract between them and the bride appended her signature upon arrival.³ Accordingly Marie Hertel, née Marguerie, became the founder of one of the earliest homes in Three Rivers and the mother of some of the first children born there. Gradually the little settlement grew and by 1666 numbered 455 souls.⁴ Apparently in thirteen years the population had more than doubled under the most difficult circumstances of harsh frontier life and constant danger from hostile Indians.⁵

It would seem that in Three Rivers as throughout New France at this time, all roads led to matrimony. The scarcity of women, the economic difficulties of existence, the danger, tended to produce the same result: all girls became wives, all widows remarried; so that the study of women becomes a study of the legal and social effects of marriage.⁶ To be sure a few girls in subsequent years chose the vocation of nun, particularly some of those who had been boarded with the Ursulines or *Hospitalières* at Quebec, but they

³Their marriage contract is in the Palais de Justice, Quebec, *Greffé Martial Piraube*, 23 août 1641, no. 33. The intention was apparently that Jacques Hertel should fetch her, and so they may have been married in Rouen.

⁴Benjamin Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français* (Montréal, 1882-4), IV, 80.

⁵Estimates of population are bound to be imperfect for this period. The first regular censuses of 1665-6 and 1666-7 have omitted families known to be living in Canada—e.g., the second leaves out Pierre Boucher and his family—so that comparisons of one year with another are necessarily hazardous. The church registers, so far, are the sources most used for data about population. Mgr Tanguay's dictionary, based chiefly on these, often omits families that had no children. What was the fluctuating population—merchants, traders, clerks, servants, etc.—during certain years? How many of the would-be permanent population left the colony at times of stress? Pierre Boucher (*Histoire véritable*, Paris, 1664, 7) mentions meeting some of these returned colonists in Paris. These questions are as yet unanswered. M. Emile Salomé (*La Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France*, Paris, n.d., 110) has said that the doubling of the French-Canadian population every twenty-three years during the century of peace following the Treaty of Paris has been considered a prodigious feat. If population was doubled in Three Rivers during the shorter period of thirteen years, it is evident that immigration must have had a share in this result, whether this immigration was made at the expense of France or of the other Canadian settlements.

⁶The distinguished historian Benjamin Sulte in his *Histoire des Canadiens-français*, IV, 79, says that the censuses of 1666 and 1667 show no disparity in numbers between the unmarried men and the unmarried girls and widows. However, the census of 1666 displays a very great disparity. In table III of this census, which applied to all Canada, there are, between the ages of sixteen and twenty, 153 unmarried men and 20 unmarried girls; between the ages of twenty-one and thirty, 455 unmarried men and 22 unmarried girls. There is no reason to suppose that during the previous decade this disproportion was less striking since the increase in the garrison occurring in 1665 does not appear in the census. See *ibid.*, 80 ff. and *Censuses of Canada, 1665 to 1871*, IV (Ottawa, 1876), 2-4.

It should be noted that this essay touches only incidentally upon the legal aspects of marriage during the period, which are interesting and complex enough to deserve separate treatment.

must always have been a very small proportion of the feminine population.⁷

The girls who married in Three Rivers before the year 1658 had, of course, been born elsewhere.⁸ There were a few Canadian-born among them but most had come from France.⁹ A distinction may be made between the girls whose families resided in New France, whether they were born in Canada or not, and those who had immigrated alone to the New World. At this particular period, before any definite effort was made by the home authorities to provide wives for the soldiers and settlers of New France, the unattached girls seem to have been brought out by individual arrangement as *engagées* to work in the household of one or other of the settlers. They too usually married, but not until their early twenties, an age appreciably older than that customary among the Canadian-born girls.¹⁰ A marriage contract drawn up on February 2, 1651, between Blaise Juliet and Antoinette de Liercourt mentions the fact that the latter was domiciled at the fort. The principal witness to the contract was Jacques Le Neuf "écuyer sieur de La Potterie, gouverneur du fort et habitation des Trois Rivières," and it seems probable that Antoinette had been employed by the Governor's family. In the marriage contracts

⁷During this same period, 1658, Marie Dodier of Three Rivers entered the Ursuline Convent as a novice (R. G. Thwaites (ed.), *The Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, Cleveland, 1896-1901, XLIV, 121, *Journal des Jésuites*) and in 1659 Jeanne Godefroy also of Three Rivers, who had been brought up by the Ursulines from the age of five, also began her novitiate (P.-G. Roy, *La Famille Godefroy de Tonnancour*, Lévis, 1904, 12). In the district of Quebec, the family of Robert Giffard, the doctor, closely associated with the hospital nuns from the first, gave them one daughter, while that of Jean Bourdon, the engineer, gave two daughters to the Ursulines and two to the *Hospitalières (Histoire de l'Hôtel-Dieu de Québec*, Montauban, 1751, 77, 94, 100, 106, 107, 129).

⁸On October 29 of this year, Marie-Madeleine Hertel, elder daughter of Jacques Hertel and Marie Marguerie, who are considered to be the second family of colonists to settle in Three Rivers, was married to Louis Pinard at the age of thirteen (Parish register, marriages). It would seem highly probable that she is the first *Trifluvienne* to marry in the place of her birth. (I had reached this conclusion when I perceived that the Abbé Georges Panneton had already formed the same opinion. See his brochure entitled *Trifluviennes*, published for the tercentenary celebration of Three Rivers in 1934, 19.) The Godefroys, who preceded the Hertels had first of all four boys, then a daughter who became a nun. Jacques Le Neuf de La Poterie had a daughter Marie, who married René Robineau de Bécancour at Three Rivers in 1652 (*Greffe Aneau, Contrat de mariage, 21 oct. 1652 and receipt of 15 nov. 1652*), but she was probably born in France or in Quebec. (Mgr Tanguay's information about Jacques Le Neuf's daughters is evidently erroneous.) At any rate, from 1658 on, the families settled in the locality provided an increasing number of brides.

⁹Marguerite Sédillot who married Jean Aubuchon in 1654 was born in Quebec according to Tanguay (*Dictionnaire généalogique*, I, 541) as were also her brothers and sisters, but the entry in the marriage register seems to indicate a Parisian origin. Louise Cloutier who married François Marguerie was born in Quebec or in Château-Richer.

¹⁰The marriage contracts, unlike modern ones, do not give their ages, nor do the marriage registers. Mgr Tanguay, with indefatigable zeal, has discovered their ages in the register of burials when he has not pursued his researches to France itself.

drawn up by Ameau between 1653 and 1662, three girls are described at different times as living in the house of Pierre Boucher, at that time Commandant of the fort and interim Governor, etc.¹¹ Another girl was mentioned as residing in the house of Jean Godefroy, Sieur de Lintot, an important fur trader and land-owner.¹² These colonists were likely to have had domestic servants and probably the girls were employed in that capacity. Presumably they had completed their contracted period of service as there is no record of any legal difficulties with their employers.

Fortunately for the historian, however, there do exist records of certain disputes which reached the courts and which enable us to reconstruct a few details in the lives of domestic servants of the period. Perhaps the domestic servant problem has never been more acute than it was in New France during the seventeenth century. Marriage was the arch-enemy and employers fought it tooth and nail—or to be more exact, with legal weapons.

Michel Le Neuf, Sieur du Hérisson, the local judge, needed a housekeeper. While on a visit to Quebec he discovered the treasure he sought in the person of Anne Le Sont, a woman of mature years. Evidently sure that he would not repent of his bargain, he induced the willing Anne to sign a contract on November 21, 1655, not for two or three years, but for life. But Michel Le Neuf had not chosen the one kind of contract that would really have bound Anne for life. She had scarcely reached Three Rivers when she was tempted to break her perpetual bond for another. The treasure changed hands and changed her name. She was now Mme Jean Desmarais. The disgruntled judge appealed to the court and produced his bond. He tried to prevent the marriage banns, claiming that the bridegroom had left a wife in France; besides (unkindest cut of all!) that the bride was at least sixty. The Jesuit Father Gareau satisfied himself that Jean Desmarais was not a bigamist and performed the ceremony, even dispensing with one of the three banns while the case was still *sub judice*. Desmarais volunteered to indemnify Michel Le Neuf but Anne, whose feelings had been outraged, descended to vitupera-

¹¹These are Louise de Mousseau (contract of March 29, 1655); Marie Pomponnelle (contract of July 24, 1656); and Anne Boyer (contract of May 14, 1658). Louise de Mousseau and Marie Pomponnelle are described as living in the "logis" of Pierre Boucher at Three Rivers, while Anne Boyer is reported to be staying at his "logis" at the Cap de la Madeleine. It is possible, of course, that the first two girls came to Canada with the contingent of 1654 sent out by Anne of Austria.

¹²Noelle or Nathalie Landeau (contract of June 24, 1660). Ameau has Noelle and so has the census of 1666 (Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français*, 62) but the parish register and Tanguay have Nathalie.

tion against her former employer. The matter was finally settled by Pierre Boucher on May 15, 1656: the bridegroom was to pay the Sieur du Hérisson 24 *livres*, 10 *sols*, which the latter had advanced to Anne Le Sont in Quebec and 50 *livres* to indemnify him for the number of objects lost by her while in his service. Anne was to pay also for the notarial costs in drawing up the perpetual bond. She was to pay the above sums less the 20 pounds due her for her four months of actual service. Finally the Sieur du Hérisson was to restore her personal effects and she was to apologize to him in court for her insulting words.¹³

François Le Maitre, called le Picard, a soldier in the garrison of Three Rivers and a master tailor, desiring to set up house and home prevailed upon one Judithe Rigault to marry him. Judithe was an *engagée* in the service of the Governor's wife, Mme Le Neuf de La Poterie, and had bound herself to five years of service at 30 *livres* per year. Of this time there was still two years and five months uncompleted. Mme Le Neuf was particularly incensed at the desertion because as a result of her sea voyage the unfortunate girl had been incapacitated for two months after her arrival, and had required medical attention. Furthermore her services, after her recovery, had been lent to Mme d'Ailleboust of Montreal for a period of nine months; and now her departure coincided with the busy season of the sowing. Mme de La Poterie had spent considerable money on Judithe's behalf: 119 *livres*, 9 *sols*, and 7 *deniers* for clothing and other things needed for the journey to Canada and 30 *livres*, 13 *sols* as an advance on the passage money. The indignant mistress therefore seized Judithe's personal effects and took the matter to the *Lieutenant civil et criminel* at Three Rivers, even asking compensation for the objects broken by Judithe during her service. Judgment was rendered on June 9, 1654. Judithe was not to be paid for the two months of her illness nor for the nine months she had served Mme d'Ailleboust, making it necessary in the latter case for Judithe to claim the money herself. She was to pay Mme de La Poterie for the expenses incurred on her behalf after deducting her wages. Judithe

¹³Musée de Québec, *Prévôté des Trois-Rivières*, I, 8 janv., 1656, 5 fév., 1656, 9 fév., 1656, and 15 mai, 1656. They were married on January 16, 1656, "duobus factis denunciationibus" (parish register). Jean Desmarais and Anne Le Sont had no children. On January 27, 1661, they made a mutual donation of their possessions before the notary Aneau. According to Mgr Tanguay, she was born in 1619, he in 1626. If this is correct, the Sieur du Hérisson was more than exaggerating when he claimed to name her age. According to Tanguay, she was the widow of Jean Lafortune before marrying Desmarais. I have respected Mgr Tanguay's deciphering of her name, although to me it would seem to be Le Jonc.

and her husband appealed this decision to the Governor-General in Quebec and Jean de Lauzon pronounced final sentence on July 21, 1654. Strangely enough at Three Rivers both parties seem to have agreed that the bond was for three years. It had been discovered in the meantime and when produced at Quebec proved to be for five years. This raised the assessment for advance on passage money, etc., which seems to have been calculated on the basis of the total amount of wages. It was now assessed at 31 *livres*, 8 *sols*, 4 *deniers*.¹⁴ Judithe was given credit for the time of her illness as well as for the period of her service in Montreal, so that it was now the mistress who would have to seek reimbursement from Mme d'Ailleboust. As Mme de La Poterie had not opposed the banns and as she had witnessed the marriage contract, she was given no indemnity for the unexpired period of the bond, and she was to restore Judithe's personal property. The latter was to repay her former mistress for the clothing and other things advanced to her as well as for the passage money, first deducting 77 *livres*, 10 *sols*, her wages for two years, seven months of service.¹⁵

How did colonists procure their servants in France? Generally, it would seem, through the good offices of a settler returning to France on business. Such persons would usually have a host of commissions to perform and among them the hiring of a man or maid-servant and the advance of the necessary money for clothing, food, and passage. The wages mentioned in the bonds seem to have varied considerably. Mme de La Poterie paid Judithe Rigault at the rate of 30 pounds a year but the same lady paid Jeanne Godin, another *engagée*, at double that amount. Anne Le Sont had been paid 60 pounds a year. Not infrequently we find colonists settling their debts by means of their servants' labour. For instance, if A owed B money he could send him his bond-servant free of charge for a specified period; or if B had no need of a servant and wished to escape his obligation to one already under bond to him, A could promise to take the servant off his hands, thus discharging his debt to B.¹⁶

¹⁴The passage money to be paid to the captain or ship-owner must have been a fixed sum. But the *advance* given for this purpose by one of the contracting parties to the other seems to have been calculated according to the full amount of time to be remunerated. The later document is thus expressed: "condamnons ledict Le Maistre et ladict Rigaud sa femme rembourser ladict Damoiselle de la Potherie de la somme de 31 livres, 8 sols, 4 deniers pour ce que ladict Rigaud doit des dépenses de son passage, à raison de deux ans cinq mois restans des cinq années esquelles elle s'estoit obligée par son marché."

¹⁵Three Rivers, Palais de Justice, judicial archives, June 9, 1654 and July 21, 1654.

¹⁶There are many examples of this to be found in the notarial archives in the Palais de Justice at Quebec. See also Palais de Justice, Three Rivers, *Greffe Herlin*, 27 mars, 1663.

If a bond of three or five years tended to provide brides in their twenties, and if the difficulties of the voyage tended to prevent very young French girls from visiting friends or relatives in New France, there was nothing to prevent the marriage of Canadian-born girls at a tender age. Indeed, it was the general custom that the latter should be married at puberty. Most Canadian girls married between the ages of twelve and sixteen, thirteen being the age most frequently chosen. Among the brides of Three Rivers, Marguerite Crevier married Jacques Fournier at the age of twelve; at the time of her second marriage she was sixteen. Her sister Marie married Nicolas Gatineau when she was thirteen. Marie Vien married Jean Lanquetteau at the age of thirteen and was widowed at fifteen. Many other examples could be given.¹⁷ There are even cases of marriage contracts made when the prospective bride was too young for marriage so that the execution of the contract would be held in abeyance for a year or two until the bride had reached the age of twelve or thirteen. This was the case with Madeleine Hertel whose contract was drawn up on June 11, 1657,¹⁸ when she was not quite twelve and who was married October 29, 1658.¹⁹ A proof of the general attitude of the settlers as to the proper age for the marriage of their daughters is to be found in the following item from the marriage contract made in 1653 by Gillette Baune, widow of Marin Chauvin, and Jacques Bertant, relative to the care of her daughter by the first marriage in case she should predecease her new husband: "Ont accordé en outre lesdites parties que si ladict Baune vient à décéder avant que ladict Marie Chauvin, sa fille du premier lict, ayt atteint l'aage de douze ans, ledict Bertant sera obligé de la nourrir jusques à l'aage de douze ans."²⁰ At twelve, the marriageable age, her future need give no anxiety.

The poorer the family, the more advantageous an early marriage for the daughters, for the scarcity of women laid the whole burden of support upon the husband, not upon the father. New France was the country of the *douaire* not of the *dot*. In fact, it is possible that this frontier situation sometimes worked to the disadvantage of daughters for the benefit of sons.²¹

¹⁷These examples are taken from Mgr Tanguay's *Dictionnaire généalogique*, I.

¹⁸Greffé Aneau.

¹⁹Parish register.

²⁰Greffé Aneau, contract of July 27, 1653.

²¹On January 20, 1671 (Greffé Aneau), Jeanne Aunois (or Auneau), widow of Pierre Lefebvre, divides her property among her five sons to the absolute detriment of her two daughters. She refers to her husband's will which had also favoured the sons, practically disinheriting the daughters, although the latter, we are made to understand,

One would like to know something of the life of these little girls before they married. Perhaps the Jesuit Fathers who taught them their catechism also gave them the rudiments of letters. Two of them with illiterate mothers were able to sign their names to their marriage contracts at a fairly early age.²² As they were soon to have the direction of a household, it is permissible to assume that they helped their mothers, who, in their state of recurrent pregnancy, would require help with the cooking, the cleaning, the washing, the care of the animals, and the gardening.

Widows at Three Rivers in the sixteen-fifties were, alas, numerous. But permanent widowhood was almost as unusual in the colony as spinsterhood.²³ Even Pierre Boucher, the patriarch, making his will in 1688, envisaged the possibility of remarriage for his widow who had borne him fifteen children.²⁴ Of the twenty-three marriage contracts drawn up by Ameau between 1653 and 1662, twelve were those of widows and the same proportion was maintained in the marriage register. Not infrequently women had three husbands and there was at least one case of a woman with four.²⁵

In France both law and custom discouraged remarriage, but conditions in Canada and the fact that there was no religious bar seem to have affected not only the custom but the legal practice

have not done badly by the arrangement (probably waiving all claims for a definite sum or a piece of property). Like the Napoleonic Code which followed it, the Custom of Paris was an egalitarian institution: except for land whose tenure was noble, property was inherited equally by the children, whether male or female. A parent could not disinherit any of his or her children beyond what was called the "légitime," amounting to half of what the inheritance would have been had the operation of the Custom been normal. This act of Jeanne Aunois (made without the consent of her daughters) may be an isolated case, but it is significant that the notary did not disallow it.

²²Madeleine Hertel, whose mother was illiterate and Marguerite Seigneuret, both of whose parents were illiterate. The census of 1666 (Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français*, 63) mentions "la soeur Marie Raisin fille de la Congrégation de Notre Dame, 23, maîtresse d'école aux filles des Trois-Rivières." Her advent must have been after 1661 for in that year Mgr Laval called upon the order of Marguerite Bourgeois to serve in Three Rivers (see P. Odoric-M. Jouve, *Les Franciscains et le Canada: Aux Trois-Rivières*, Paris, 1934, 39).

²³There are, however, exceptions to this rule. Mme Louis d'Ailleboust (*née* Barbe de Boulogne) did not remarry although left a widow at an early age; neither did Mme Pierre Le Gardeur de Repentigny (*née* Marie Favery) whose husband died while she was still young. She is mentioned in 1668 as being guardian to the orphaned children of her daughter Madeleine and the latter's husband Paul Godefroy (*Papier terrier de la Compagnie des Indes Occidentales*, pub. par P.-G. Roy, Beaucheville, 1931, 275), a duty which she could not have performed, had she remarried.

²⁴Given in facsimile and transcription by M. P.-G. Roy in *Rapport, 1921-1922*, before p. 1. Pierre Boucher, the Governor, had been the witness *par excellence* at most of these second weddings.

²⁵This is Eléonore de Grandmaison, who married successively: Antoine Boudier, Sieur de Beauregard; François de Chavigny, Sieur de Berchereau; Jacques Gourdeau, Sieur de Beaulieu; et Jacques Caillault, Sieur de la Tessérol (Godbout, *Les Pionniers de la région trifluvienne La Famille Chavigny de la Chevrotière*, Lévis, 1916).

as well. In order to safeguard the property of minors whose rights might be adversely affected by the remarriage of a parent, Francis II in 1560 issued what was called the *Edit des Seconde Noces*.²⁶ This edict prevented the second wife or husband from having a larger share in the property of the first marriage than any one of the children of that marriage. As most early Canadian widows had small children, they would come under this edict as well as under the Custom of Paris.

If remarriage is hardly astonishing, we cannot but be impressed with the precipitation attending it. The codified Custom of Paris did not require any specific lapse of time before remarriage as did certain laws in the *pays du droit écrit*. However, under the Custom of Paris it was usual for the widow to spend a year of mourning before marrying again. Otherwise she might endanger her rights in any legal controversy over the inheritance. In Three Rivers during our period, however, it was the rule to marry well within the year. Some widows remarried within three months and others even sooner.²⁷ No doubt this precipitation was due in large part to the atmosphere of constant danger and the relative helplessness of a young widow with small children to protect herself and her family, cultivate the farm, etc. No woman could do this single-handed.

These were terrible years. Ever since 1642 the Iroquois had been continually on the warpath. In 1648-9 the Hurons were attacked and dispersed, the Jesuits martyred. In 1652 the Governor of Three Rivers and fifteen companions lost their lives in an ambush. In 1653 the town was besieged. Pierre Boucher, the hero of this siege, obtained a truce but one that was not long observed. Enemy bands even went as far as the outskirts of Quebec. In 1656 the Hurons were butchered on the Isle of Orleans. In 1660 Dollard and his companions made their heroic stand at Long Sault. An Iroquois arrow made many a widow.

²⁶It is printed in Moreau de St. Méry, *Loix et constitutions des colonies françoises de l'Amérique sous le vent* (Paris, n.d.), 6-7. The two clauses of the edict without the preamble are given in Claude-Joseph de Ferrière, *Dictionnaire de droit et de pratique* (Paris, 1755), under the article "Seconde noces."

²⁷This practice apparently continued, at least until the disproportion in numbers between the sexes was not so acute, that is for a long period. Mgr Amédée Gosselin is condemnatory of the widow of Bertrand Chesnay, called La Garenne, who in 1683 remarried: "Sa seconde femme, Elizabeth Aubert, prit environ quinze jours pour pleurer son mari et le 4 février suivant elle épousait J.-B. Franquelin" (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXIV, 212-14). This is our modern reaction, but in 1672, the Abbé Dollier de Casson uses an extreme example of rapid remarriage as an inducement to the women of France to come out to Canada. He tells of a woman who, having lost her husband, procured the publication of one bann, the dispensation of the two others, and her marriage to a new husband—all before her first husband had been buried! (*Histoire du Montréal*, published by the Société Historique de Montréal, 1868, 207).

Marie Denot, wife of Etienne Vien, one of the early land-owners of Three Rivers, lost her husband, probably in 1652. She had two daughters, Marie, thirteen years old, and Marie-Madeleine, a baby of two. The elder became the wife of Jean Lanquetau (or Lanctot) probably only a short time before her mother's second marriage to Mathieu Labat, in the beginning of 1653. Both mother and daughter were soon widowed. Jean Lanquetau was killed by the Iroquois on November 23, and Mathieu on December 9, 1654. The twice-widowed Marie Denot with two daughters and an imminent grandchild chose a protector and third husband in Louis Ozanne. She also found a husband for her widowed daughter who had recently been delivered of a son, François. On January 26, 1655, there was a double wedding in the parish church: Louis Ozanne became the mother's third husband and Philippe Etienne the second husband of the daughter.²⁸ Many other such cases may be found in the judicial archives of Three Rivers.

Thus the solution chosen or forced upon the individual with regard to his personal problems when repeated by many is seen to have solved the problem of the community. The problem of New France at this critical moment was one of simple existence; the miracle is that the colony was not wiped out completely. It is astonishing that population could be maintained and increased at a time when there was very little immigration, and probably a high infant mortality.²⁹ Since 1645, when the Company of New France handed over the trade of the colony to its inhabitants, little emphasis was laid upon the obligation to colonize.³⁰ Intending

²⁸Marriage contract between Mathieu Labat and Marie Denot, Jan. 26, 1653; marriage contract between Philippe Etienne and Marie Vien, Jan. 24, 1655; inventory of the widow Labat, May 19, 1655 (*Greffé Ameau*, parish register for the double marriage).

²⁹A considerable number of children disappear from the records at an early age. Salone (*La Colonisation de la Nouvelle-France*, 118) considers the death-rate low. He has estimated that out of 177 births between 1617 and 1640 there were 111 children who grew up—and 66 deaths. For the worst decade of the Iroquois wars, however, from 1650 to 1660, he has given us no statistics. It is very probable that the death-rate was not increased, although the actual number of deaths may have been.

³⁰See Public Archives of Canada, *Correspondance officielle*, série 2, 134-42, "Articles accordés entre les directeurs et associés en la Compagnie de la Nouvelle France et les députés des habitans dudit pays (6 mars 1645)." By article 72 (p. 138) the settlers bound themselves to bring out only twenty people (men and women) a year. It does not seem that this condition was complied with any more than most of the others, as the Company of the Inhabitants became bankrupt. There was, of course, some immigration—see above, note 5. For example, Pierre-Esprit Radisson and his two sisters joined their half-sister Marguerite Hayet, wife of Jean Véron, and her family in 1651 and relatives and friends followed relatives and friends—but more reluctantly after this date. In 1653 and later, both in Three Rivers and Montreal, and indeed even in Quebec, it was a burning question whether the settlements were to continue or not. Most of the immigration for this period went to Montreal and the influx of women was inadequate everywhere.

settlers were likely to have their ambition cooled by the *Jesuit Relations* with their tales of the Iroquois terror. Population was increased within the colony by a kind of unconscious mobilization of every available woman. The history of the remarried widows shows that the process of child-bearing was little interrupted by exterior catastrophe. The very early marriages in making use of the entire period of fertility had the result of increasing the birth-rate.

These second and third marriages created certain interesting problems with respect to the children, and these problems were solved in various ways. When the inheritance was so small that a division of the property between widow and children according to law would have rendered difficult the maintenance of the family, it was usual to let it go in bulk to maintain the new household and allow it to be inherited equally by the children of both marriages. No guardian would be appointed; the second husband would assume responsibility for the welfare of his wife's first family and would administer their property with his own. Thus Laurent Leclerc in his marriage contract with the widow Bourgery declared that: "en considerant que les enfans provenus dudit feu Bourgery n'ont pas de bien sufisamment pour les nourrir et entretenir, il a promis après ledict mariage accompli et consommé prendre soin d'eslever, nourrir et entretenir lesdits enfans sur le bien qui leur pourra appartenir, quoy que bien petit, et ne soit suffisant pour y subvenir, auquel ils obéiront comme a leur proper père et luy rendront service convenable."²¹

A widow of means, which usually meant one with considerable land, would generally appear before the judge shortly after her husband's death and ask the appointment of a guardian and that an inventory be made of her husband's estate. The judge would summon a meeting of the deceased husband's relatives and friends who would choose a guardian (*tuteur*) and a sub-guardian (*subrogateur*). As a rule the widow was chosen guardian and some prominent inhabitant sub-guardian. These two were present at the drawing up of the inventory as well as one or two others appointed for the purpose by the assembly of family and friends. The furniture, livestock, etc., were divided equally, half for the widow and half for the children as a group. This division was made either in kind or in some kind of legal tender after an auction. Real estate was also divided into equal parts, sometimes with ludicrous consequences as in the case of little Jeanne Isabel.

²¹Greffé Ameau, Jan. 24, 1658.

Jeanne's guardian and her step-father, the latter representing her mother's interest, drew lots for the partitioning of a house and land, with the result that the south-west side of the house and the north-east side of the land fell to the mother, the daughter inheriting the remaining halves. Consequently each party had to cede a strip of land to the other in order to reach their respective doors.³² The Custom of Paris forbade a remarried widow to act as guardian of her former husband's children and so upon her remarriage, if she had been guardian, it was necessary to have another family council for the selection of a new guardian, frequently the step-father, some relative of the deceased husband, or some representative settler. The guardian had to look after the children's property and render an account of his administration to them when they had attained their majority or at an earlier period to the family council if so required by that body.

The children usually lived with their mother who was given an allowance out of the estate for their board—usually at this period 120 *livres* a year for each child. If the children were placed elsewhere, the same amount was allotted to the family boarding them.³³

Naturally many households contained the children of two or more marriages. In one case at least, the situation was considered too complicated. Médard Chouart, Sieur de Groseilliers, the noted pilot, explorer, and fur-trader married Mme Véron de Grandmesnil, a widow with two small boys. Their step-father, who seems to have been a man of violent temper, disagreed with his wife about their upbringing. The final result was an appeal to the judge who gave the children into the care of their guardian with the stipulation that the latter be paid the usual 120 *livres* a year for each child.³⁴ Perhaps the boys returned to their mother's care during the Sieur de Groseillier's lengthy absences. At any rate she was living with the children of both marriages in 1667.³⁵

In the interests of completeness, something should be said of that anomalous category of women who are neither wives nor maids. Apparently they were non-existent in New France at this

³²Three Rivers, judicial archives, July 14, 1655. The whole system of guardianship and division of property between mother and children can be seen in the same collection in the Hertel inventory, Aug. 21, 1651 to June 3, 1652; in the inventory Jeanne Jallaix, veuve Repentigny, Nov. 2, 1654, Aug. 4, 1655; in the inventory of Marguerite Hayet, veuve Véron, Jan. 14 and 21, 1654; in the inventory of the "mineure de Guillaume Isabel," Feb. 4, 1654, April 8, 1654, March 3 and 10, 1655, July 14, 1655; in the inventory of Marie Sédiilot, veuve Bertrand Falard, Dec. 28, 1660 to Feb. 12, 1661, Jan. 29, 1664.

³³"Tutelle de la mineure de Guillaume Isabel": Three Rivers, judicial archives, Feb. 4, 1654; "tutelle des enfants Véron," March 6, 1654.

³⁴Three Rivers, judicial archives, March 6, 1654.

³⁵Sulte, *Histoire des Canadiens-français*, 63.

period. The influence of church and civil authorities, the conditions that made for early marriage, all tended to exclude such women. Every woman sent from France to Canada was a prospective settler's wife and her morals were investigated before she was allowed to sail. Pierre Boucher was categorical upon this point. It was customary to have the friends and relatives of the girls certify as to their moral character before they embarked. If they turned out to be undesirable, they were returned to France. The home authorities applied a different yardstick to the girls, depending upon whether they were destined for Canada or the West Indies.³⁶ In 1658 d'Argenson wrote to his brother that a merchant from La Rochelle had landed a *fille enceinte* and that her prospective employer had objected; the Governor himself was indignant—Canada was not to be a second St. Kitt's! He ordered the girl to be deported.³⁷ The *Relation* of 1654 says that in the space of eighteen years the executioner had exercised his office only twice when he had publicly flogged two "bad women" and that these were later banished.³⁸ Some attempt, too, was made to control or banish morally undesirable men. This was more difficult as the little colony could ill spare any fighters. In Montreal in the middle of the century where the dangers of geographic position made the tension greater and where Maisonneuve established an atmosphere of moral and religious rectitude, we find condemnations of a type not found among the documents at Three Rivers, although there are instances of violent deeds at the neighbouring Cap de la Madeleine and there is one case of adultery.³⁹ Doubtless the more westerly and dangerous post was likely to harbour the wilder sort of colonist. The records contain condemnations for gambling, bigamy, adultery, and for the solicitation of married women—Mistress Page and Mistress Ford dragging their Falstaff before the tribunal.⁴⁰ The fifteen-year-old girl who was publicly whipped at Quebec in 1649 for theft, had her name coupled with that of one of the married citizens of the capital. The man was lodged in prison to await his trial.⁴¹ This girl may have been one of the two mentioned above as being deported at a later date.

³⁶Pierre Boucher, *Histoire véritable* (Paris, 1664), 155.

³⁷Published in *Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXVII, 338.

³⁸*Relations des Jésuites* (Québec, 1858), II, 30-1.

³⁹Musée de Québec, *Archives des Trois-Rivières, Documents divers*, I, no. 47, 14 juillet, 1665.

⁴⁰Montreal, judicial archives, copies in the Public Archives of Canada, I, 1653-1711, 18 janv., 1659; and I, 1651-1669, 8 févr., 1651, 17 juin, 1660, etc.

⁴¹Laverdière et Casgrain (eds.), *Journal des Jésuites* (Québec, 1871), 120.

But if banishment was a suitable solution for habitual sinners, it could scarcely be applied to the unfortunate or impetuous and inexperienced girl. What happened to these? Instead of drifting into the anomalous category, no doubt they usually married. Marriage was easily accessible, far more so than in France. The practice of granting dispensation of one or two banns, which was done both under the Jesuit administration and later under the bishop, probably forestalled an occasional minor disgrace. In a settlement where warfare was constant, where the difficulty of communication rendered useless the lapse of time required by the banns, the church granted dispensation easily and as a matter of policy, and in any case, wisely.⁴² The Abbé Ferland in his study of the baptismal records of Notre Dame de Québec from 1621 to 1661 has found only one illegitimate child among 674 births.⁴³ Generally speaking, any illicit intercourse with women had to take place beyond the bounds of the settlements, that is, among the Indians. There were even a few cases of carousals involving Indian women, who had a passion for fire-water, and settlers, in the houses of the latter.⁴⁴ Governor La Poterie had tried to prevent such occurrences by an ordinance of 1662 forbidding the inhabitants under any circumstances to receive the natives in their houses after nightfall.⁴⁵

One might have expected that the hasty marriages of very young persons would have produced many disappointments with subsequent broken homes as a result. This was not the case. There are few known cases of legal separation of husband and wife. Marguerite Crevier who married Jacques Fournier in 1657 returned to the house of her parents in 1660. This marriage was later annulled and both parties remarried.⁴⁶

It is not possible, within the limits of this paper, to discuss in detail the houses within which the colonial women lived and

⁴²This was often a courageous stand, as it displeased the more influential type of colonists: "Sur la fin du mois d'octobre, le P. le Jeune et le P. Buteux s'en retournant de Québec pour les Trois-Rivières et Montréal, marierent en chemin un nommé Nopce avec la fille d'un nommé Picar qui estoient pour lors chez Mons. de Chauigny, et puis demeurerent chez Mons. de la Poterie. Mons. de Chauigny se ressentit de ce changement, et s'en prenoit au P. le Jeune; mais il parut depuis que Mons. de Chauigny avoit tort de se plaindre du P. le Jeune" (*Journal des Jésuites*, oct., 1645, 11). See also above, 5-6.

⁴³*Notes sur les registres de Notre Dame de Québec* (Québec, 1863), 39.

⁴⁴An inquiry was instituted in 1665 by Father Druillettes at the Cap de la Madeleine, on the seigniory of the Jesuits. See Musée de Québec, *Archives des Trois-Rivières*, I, 1665-6.

⁴⁵Musée de Québec, *Archives de Trois-Rivières*, *Documents divers*, I, 29 oct., 1662.

⁴⁶Parish register, 14 mai, 1657; Musée de Québec, *Prévôté des Trois-Rivières*, II, 28 août, 1660; *Greffé Ameau*, 16 nov., 1661. See also E. Z. Massicotte, "Les Chirurgiens de Montréal au XVII^e siècle" (*Bulletin des recherches historiques*, XXVII, 42).

worked. That their dwellings were simple and unadorned we would assume even if precise evidence were lacking. Few had any upper storey. Most contained a stable partitioned from the living quarters and located in a northern corner. Fireplaces were, of course, the only means of heating or cooking. Chimneys were of clay and this fact together with the extreme cold of the winters and the inflammable nature of the thatch or shingle roof caused many fires. Window glass may have been used by the wealthy but apparently oiled paper or thin parchment was sometimes employed as a window covering. Floors and interior walls were made of boards as were the partitions separating the living and sleeping quarters. The absence of beds in the inventories may be accounted for by assuming that the colonists used built-in bunks along the walls. Of course the wealthier families had beds and other fine furniture brought from France. Chairs seem to have been very rare. Evidently long backless benches served instead. Chests of all sizes were used for a variety of storage purposes, as indeed was the case in Europe at this time. Utensils were almost all of metal. Cooking pots were of iron or copper as were the big spoons and ladles. Spits and hooks were of iron. There was almost no earthenware. Practically everything for the table was made of pewter: forks, spoons, cups, plates, porringer, as well as the measuring cups used in cooking. There is only one mention of silver articles, in connection with the Hertel family, and these consisted of only two goblets, six spoons, and three forks.

Doubtless the poverty and simplicity of house and furnishings reduced the amount of indoor labour required of the women. But their tasks always included gardening and tending the cows, pigs, and chickens. The vegetable gardens evidently always included cabbages, and possibly beans as well as a few root crops such as turnips, onions, and carrots. As yet there were no potatoes.⁴⁷ The washing of personal and household linen was women's work. Some earned a little money by doing the laundry of members of the garrison. Very likely the women assembled on the river bank to do their washing as they do in France.

⁴⁷Gérard Malchelosse (ed.), *Mélanges historiques: Etudes éparses et inédites de Benjamin Sulte* (Montreal, 1919), 7-27, "Histoire de la pomme de terre." Pierre Boucher, anxious to praise the quality of Canadian earth, mentioned several other grains, vegetables, and herbs, many of which grew wild. So far, he said, the colonists had concentrated upon the cultivation of wheat and neglected the other possibilities. He mentioned as having been tried; barley, rye, lentils, onions, melons, beets, carrots, beans, squash, parsnips, salsify, sorrel, chard, asparagus, spinach, parsley, chicory, leeks, garlic, chives, cucumbers, watermelons. He listed as already under cultivation by the Indians: Indian corn, beans, squash, sunflowers, and tobacco (Boucher, *Histoire véritable*, 82-5).

At this period there were no sheep in the colony, no flax, and no hemp. Consequently there were no hand-loomes or spinning-wheels. The home industries developed later. Textiles had to be imported from France. From these the women made dresses for themselves and their children as well as shirts and underwear for the men. Men's outer dress—doublets and hose, coats and hats—had to be brought out from France. They were very scarce and costly in the colony. Worn clothing, sold after a man's death, fetched a price which seems excessive in terms of other commodities.⁴⁸ The materials used for women's clothing seem to have been chosen for durability rather than colour or beauty. They included: *crézeau* (serge or kersey), *grisette* (cheap gray stuff), *treillis* (sackcloth, buckram), *ras de Châlons* (napless material, shalloon), *toile de Mélis* (sail-cloth).

The scarcity of specie made barter a common practice and there were cases of women exchanging grain or vegetables for manufactured goods which another family had imported. In summer French merchants arrived to trade their goods for furs or money. There is mention of women trading furs for merchandise but this is probably because furs were legal tender, not because the women were in the fur trade. There was one outstanding exception in Jeanne Enard, wife of Christophe Crevier, Sieur de la Meslée, mother of six children and mother-in-law of Pierre Boucher. By her husband's own avowal she was the business head of the family both as regards the fur trade and household management.⁴⁹ Another woman, Mathurine Poisson, wife of Jacques Aubuchon, was a recognized merchant and sold imported goods to the colonists. She acted in her own name and had no need for her husband's permission in her dealings.⁵⁰

We can visualize these women going about their daily errands on foot or by boat on the river highway, on snowshoes in the winter, assembling on invitation to witness a marriage contract, turning out in force for baptisms, weddings, and funerals as well as High Mass on Sunday mornings, after which public notices were cried and posted, and auctions held. We can see them gossiping with the neighbours and returning home to cook the

⁴⁸The Hertel inventory included "un manteau de drap garni de boutons d'or" selling for 54 *livres*, and "un pourpoint, hault de chausses et bas de drap" for 40 *livres*, while a six weeks' old heifer cost only 24 *livres* and even a house and lot in town was sold for 135 *livres*.

⁴⁹Testament of Christophe Crevier, Sieur de la Meslée, Dec. 1, 1652. (This date has been added by another hand.)

⁵⁰Palais de Justice, Québec, *Greffe Guillaume Audouart*, Sept. 6, 1658, no. 675, and Musée de Québec, *Prévôté des Trois-Rivières*, I, May 8, 1660.

midday meal—all very much as if they were at home in France instead of in the heart of the Canadian wilderness surrounded by hostile Iroquois. Through all these documents they appear very human. Sometimes litigious to the point of absurdity, they thus reveal the piquant details of their lives and themselves as well. Some of them stand out with startling clearness. Mme Christophe Crevier, estimable wife and mother, was undoubtedly disagreeable in business relations, a termagant. Mme des Groseilliers, the first advocate of women's rights, attains her moments of grandeur. During those troubled times, it was these women (who else?) who nursed the sick and wounded, cooked for the colony's defenders, cared for the children, acted as midwives. It was they who looked after the household and the family business during their husbands' long absences. We must regret that the records are so meagre of these achievements. It was no light accomplishment to have bequeathed to later generations the traditions of the French household, built up of the thousand and one events of ordinary human living.

These traditions were strongly individualistic and included a keen sense of property. Boundaries had to be maintained; goods or produce damaged had to be paid for; slandered reputations atoned for. For them, the family was the first loyalty. The one collective institution which flourished during the period and which has remained to this day—the guardianship of minors—is essentially a family matter. But in the early years of the colony, before families had many ramifications, we find outsiders devoting their time and energy to the interests of little children with praiseworthy zeal.

This essay has attempted to give a general view of women's life and work in New France during the early critical years when marriage dominated the lives of women and forced all other careers, except that of the religious life, out of existence. The feminine members of the struggling colony had to fulfil their natural destiny as wives and mothers during a longer period of their lives than is required of most women of European stock. Married at twelve or thirteen they continued their career uninterrupted even by major calamities. They became specialists of marriage and motherhood. Few in number as they were, they assumed successfully the task of populating the colony.

ISABEL FOULCHÉ-DELBOSC

JOHN LANGTON AND THE CANADIAN AUDIT OFFICE

SINCE 1764 the audit of the public accounts has constituted an important element in financial control. With short bursts of industry and enthusiasm, followed by prolonged periods of almost complete inactivity, the examination of the accounts was conducted until 1840 for the information and protection of the executive government. The Act of Union laid the hands of the Legislature upon the purse strings of the Treasury and placed the authorization of the audit within the sphere of Parliament, but with a strange perversity no Audit Act was placed upon the statute books for nearly fifteen years. After the Union, as before, the Inspector-General was responsible for the audit. After the Union, as before, criticisms of the administration of the provincial finances were not wanting. And as the Inspector-General, in assuming high executive responsibilities, gradually abandoned the duller routine duties of the audit, the grounds for criticism became more evident.

The re-entry of William Lyon Mackenzie into active politics in 1851 marked the beginning of an active campaign for administrative reform. Since the Union, recurring evidences of carelessness and persisting suspicions of worse had kept the smouldering fires of reform alive. The annual appointment of the Committee on Public Accounts had resulted in occasional criticism of the accounts and of the management of the provincial finances.¹ Half-hearted attempts had been made from time to time to introduce improvements² but no determined effort had been made to force the government to take action.

In 1854, however, Mackenzie was appointed to the Public Accounts Committee. Following long established British tradition, the custom of the time required that a member of the Opposition be designated chairman, and Mackenzie was named to this high post. With the reformer's zeal and a clear mind, he led the Committee into the Augean stable. The principal accounting officers and the leading members of the government were called to give evidence, and early in the proceedings the inadequacy of the accounts and the laxity of the audit were apparent. In the

¹*Journals of the Legislative Assembly of the Province of Canada*, 1844-5, appendix MM; *ibid.*, 1847, appendix KKK; *ibid.*, 1849, appendix FFFF; *ibid.*, 1850, appendix NN; *ibid.*, 1851, appendix MMM.

²*Ibid.*, 1843, 199; *ibid.*, 1844-5, 96, 192, 328, 376; *Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 1848-9, c. 5; *Toronto Daily Colonist*, Sept. 7, 1852.

Committee's reports³ no opportunity was neglected to stress the deficiencies which the inquiry revealed.

The lack of uniformity and the irregularities in the accounts, which the evidence exposed, were emphasized and re-emphasized. "Mr. Dufort, the Receiver General's principal Book-keeper," the Committee reported, "had never once balanced, nor been required to balance, his books of account, from January, 1849, down to October, 1854." "The books of the Receiver General's Office never assimilate with those of the Inspector General" for "the mode of keeping the accounts . . . is essentially different." "Warrants for the payment of money are frequently charged to one account in the Inspector General's Office, to another in the Receiver General's." In pointing out the lack of a uniform financial year, the Committee suggested that "greater uniformity might be obtained, with but temporary inconvenience," a remark which might well have been applied to the entire accounting system.

In reviewing the deficiencies of the audit, the report was more critical. Cataloguing the evidence which revealed the irregularity of the accounts and the audit, the Committee were constrained to add that "it is scarcely possible to imagine a more imperfect financial system than we are describing."

Not content with the condemnation of the mechanics of book-keeping and auditing, the Committee struck a deeper chord. In arresting words, which may perhaps be traced to Mackenzie's fine crusading hand, more fundamental questions were raised.

The role of the Legislature in the financial scheme of the province received serious attention. Doubting whether the Assembly under "Responsible Government" had the substantial control of its own revenue, the Committee dealt with many instances in which the maintenance of effective legislative control was frustrated by irregular administrative practices, and watered none of its words in denunciation of the evils which were revealed to it. "If the Governor and Council," it reported, "can arrest the public treasure on its way to the Treasury, and expend what is in the Treasury by their own votes, 'all aids and supplies' from the House become a mere nullity."⁴

Such unequivocal language, addressed to the Assembly, and, through a receptive press, to the country, could not be ignored. "It is very fortunate for Cayley," declared John A. Macdonald, "that Mackenzie has made such an opportune exposé of the way

³*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1854-5, appendix JJ.

⁴*Ibid.*, appendix JJ.

affairs have been conducted in the different public departments. He is now called upon, without an insidious prying into the affairs of the other departments, to institute a searching enquiry into the management and accounts of all the Bureaux."⁵

To prosecute the enquiry, the government proposed that the Inspector-General resume his audit duties, which had been allowed to lapse, and set up a branch in his department for the purpose. To endow the office with an authority greater both in the country and over the public accountants than would be possible if it were established by the merely ministerial authority of an Order-in-Council, the government proposed to introduce special legislation, establishing the position and defining its duties.

Before the legislation was drafted, Macdonald had selected the man for the position. John Langton, then representative of the County of Peterborough in the provincial Legislature, was his choice. On February 6, 1855, Macdonald wrote offering him the position of Auditor⁶ which Langton duly accepted.

The government had determined to its own satisfaction the manner in which the office should be created, but Macdonald's letter to Langton revealed that the political status of the Auditor had not been settled, for he went on to ask whether or not the audit officer should be eligible for Parliament.

If he is, and has in fact a seat, he becomes a political personage, and is subject to change on every change of government. This, as far as you are concerned, I think would be no objection. Then a question arises whether a political officer's report would have the same weight as that of a non-political person. Cayley thinks not, I differ. Under the principles of responsibility some member of the Government must produce under his responsibility the reports of the Audit Office. In fact the report must be that of the Inspector General and therefore must be political. It seems to me that it would be well to have the audit officer in Parliament, ready to answer all questions and debate all matters relative to the public accounts,—just as in England the Secretary of the Treasury is always in Parliament acting as efficient aid to the Chancellor of the Exchequer.⁷

Macdonald's "principles of responsibility" were to find expression in the statute, but the political status of the Auditor under the forthcoming legislation was to be other than that advocated by Macdonald.

The bill "to secure the more efficient auditing of the public accounts" was introduced by Cayley on March 23, 1855. The

⁵W. A. Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton from the Backwoods of Upper Canada and the Audit Office of the Province of Canada* (Toronto, 1926), 214.

⁶Ibid., 213-17.

⁷Ibid., 215.

guiding genius of the public accounts inquiry was given due credit in the ensuing debate, and Mr. Dorion, speaking on the measure, declared that "Mr. Mackenzie, chairman of the Committee deserved the highest praise for the energy and talent with which he had conducted the inquiry."⁸ On April 25 the bill was passed, and on May 19 the vice-regal assent was given.⁹

The Act authorized the Governor, by Letters Patent under the Great Seal of the province, to constitute a Board of Audit to examine and report to the Inspector-General upon the public accounts. The Deputy Inspector-General as chairman, the Commissioner of Customs, and the Auditor comprised the Board, which was to function under the direction of the Inspector-General. The statute directed that the Auditor, who was to be appointed by the Governor, should not be eligible to serve in either the Council or the Assembly of the province. Thus Cayley's views found statutory expression, and the Auditor became a servant and not a member of the ministry.

Each member of the Board was allotted certain duties. The Deputy Inspector-General was to be responsible for controlling the issue from the Treasury, for keeping the public accounts, and for the audit of the expenditures connected with the administration of justice and of the current accounts of the customs and excise officers. The Commissioner of Customs was directed to check and examine the customs and excise returns, the revenues of his own department. The Auditor was allotted the examination and audit of the expenditures of the other departments and of all institutions supported by public funds.

The accounts, having been subjected to these primary audits, were to be revised by the Board, and were then to be submitted to the Inspector-General for his final revision and approval.

All public moneys, except those revenues derived from the postal service and the customs and excise, and all moneys forming part of special funds administered by the government, were to be paid to the credit of the Receiver-General. The exceptions were important, for the practice, condemned by Mackenzie, and still current in all the receiving departments, of drawing upon the receipts to meet the expenses of collection and of remitting only the net revenues to the Receiver-General, permitted no part of the postal receipts and only a fraction of the customs and excise revenues to reach the Treasury.

⁸*Canada, Parliamentary Debates*, March 23, 1855.

⁹*Statutes of the Province of Canada*, 1855, c. 78.

Every payment from the Treasury was to be made by cheque, signed by the Receiver-General and the Inspector-General or their respective deputies. With a seemly reverence for the British principles of parliamentary control and executive responsibility, a warrant system of issue was adopted. Every issue, in theory, required prior parliamentary and executive authority. The parliamentary authority was given in the Appropriation Acts or in some specific statute. The executive authority was to be embodied in a warrant of the Governor-in-Council approving the expenditure. Each individual payment, however, did not require a separate warrant. Direct payments were made on individual or "simple" warrants, but advances were also made to the responsible officers of the spending departments on "accountable warrants" from which the departmental accounts might be paid. The advances, deposited in approved banks, could be drawn upon only by official cheque. Each quarter, a statement of the account with the covering vouchers was submitted to the Board of Audit for examination and comparison with the paid cheques.

This system of financial control was intended to serve several purposes. The examination of the account and of the bank balances, and the comparison of the vouchers with the paid cheques, provided a means of determining whether any moneys had been diverted even temporarily to unwarranted purposes. The requirements of a warrant before issue, and of issue only on official cheque, implemented the authority of the central executive by tightening the threads of control over the expenditure. And finally, the requirements of a vote for every expenditure and of the audit of the accounts and their presentation to the House, were intended to erect the whole on the bed-rock of parliamentary supremacy. Unfortunately, the legislative foundations were not surely laid, and the Canadian system was built on the quick-sands of departmental responsibility.

Such were the general provisions of the Act governing the issue and receipt of public moneys and the audit of the expenditure. The legislation did not fully remedy the conditions revealed by the Mackenzie Committee. The criticisms of the mechanics of the system had been partially offset but no attempt had been made to correct the more fundamental constitutional weaknesses in the financial administration. Mackenzie's revelations had called forth the new Act, but the conception of the Legislature as the repository of financial sovereignty found only partial expression therein.

John Langton assumed his duties as Auditor of Public Accounts

in October, 1855, with a staff of three clerks who had been attached to the old Audit Branch of the Inspector-General's Department. By the end of January, 1856, he was supervising the activities of a staff of five: a book-keeper, Thomas Cruse, of whom Langton had "an excellent character," and four clerks, Charles Cambie, Christopher Green, "very steady and constant and very accurate in figures but with very few ideas beyond figures," James Patterson, and Edward Barber, "two young lads . . . both very steady and willing and Barber with some head."¹⁰ Already he had evolved a system of audit for the office which, in the nature of the close supervision which Langton exercised, indicated the scope of the governmental functions of the day.¹¹

In his correspondence with his brother William, early in 1856, Langton revealed that he was developing a theoretical basis for his audit. His letters disclose a clear comprehension of the objectives of the audit, and discuss in less formal phraseology the very questions Durell was to raise in his classic "Parliamentary Grants" sixty-one years later.¹² Recognizing the principal aims of the governmental auditor, Langton had sought to incorporate with partial success the objectives of the accountancy audit, the appropriation audit, and the administrative audit in the working of the office.

The verification of the mathematical accuracy of the accounts, the first and most obvious duty of an auditor, was recognized by Langton as an essential part of his duties, but he set a limitation when questions of administration were involved. "If there is anything wrong in an account, of course I report; if there is anything bad in the system of keeping accounts I think it is clear that I should report also. But when the system of managing the public business is bad, is that any concern of mine? I doubt."¹³ Durell's interpretation of the audit of accountancy as "(i) the detection of fraud, (ii) the detection of technical errors, (iii) the detection of errors of principle,"¹⁴ confirmed the soundness of Langton's version of the first phase of the auditor's duties. And Durell, like Langton, also advised the abstention from interference in administrative matters, and quoted in approval the remarks of the Secretary of the English Board of Audit in 1865: "Whatever tends to associate us directly or indirectly with the pecuniary

¹⁰Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 230-2. ¹¹*Ibid.*, 232.

¹²A. J. V. Durell, *The Principles and Practice of the System of Control over Parliamentary Grants* (London, 1917).

¹³Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 225.

¹⁴Durell, *Parliamentary Grants*, 170.

transactions of the government, cannot but tend to damage the credit of the reports in which we are required to submit those transactions to the judgment of Parliament. We conceive, therefore, that we should never be required to advise, to control, or to remonstrate."¹⁵

While Langton accepted the accountancy audit as a necessary part of the auditor's duties, he realized it was not a sufficient condition for the complete verification of the government accounts. "It is not enough," he wrote, "to know whether a man has drawn what he is entitled to on the one hand, or whether he has spent what he has drawn on the other, but whether he has spent it for the purpose for which he was entitled to draw it."¹⁶ Compare this with Durell's definition of the appropriation audit, whereby the auditor should "see that the grants are spent on the purposes for which they are provided."¹⁷ In 1856 Langton seems to have arrived at an interpretation almost identical with that of Durell, writing in 1917.

In formulating his audit programme, Langton considered the necessity of applying the administrative audit, or "audit of authority." "Then supposing a voucher produced that the money was paid and a certificate that the service was rendered, another question arises—was the expenditure authorized?"¹⁸ It is clear that Langton saw the advisability of the audit of authority. He sought within the limitations of his statutory powers to examine the expenditure "with a view to seeing that it is supported by the requisite authority in each case, whether of royal warrant, or orders in council, or of the Treasury, or of the department" as Durell expressed it.¹⁹

But Durell, in his distinction between the appropriation audit and the audit of authority stressed the fact that while both were audits of authority, the former was concerned with legislative and the latter with administrative authority. In this regard Langton encountered some difficulty, for while in theory prior parliamentary approval was required in Canada for every disbursement, in practice, as the Mackenzie Committee had reported, expenditures were made frequently without such approval. Payments could be made by warrant, authorized only by Order-in-Council, in excess of, or entirely without, appropriation by

¹⁵Ibid., 194; *Great Britain, Parliamentary Papers*, 1865, X, 131, Report of Public Accounts Committee, appendix 1, para. 48.

¹⁶Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 241.

¹⁷Durell, *Parliamentary Grants*, 181.

¹⁸Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 222.

¹⁹Durell, *Parliamentary Grants*, 186.

Parliament. In 1855, \$408,063.30 was spent on the authority of Orders-in-Council alone, and in 1856 the unprovided items totalled \$218,055.55.²⁰ With such a powerful instrument in the hands of the Executive, Parliament was shorn of much of its strength.

But a more irregular, and an infinitely more dangerous practice existed that served to rob not only the Legislature but the Executive as well of the power to control the expenditure. Many departments maintained separate banking accounts, constituting themselves as subordinate treasuries, and in more than one instance richly deserving Burke's apt designation as "nurseries of mismanagement."²¹ A general authority was vested in the heads of the departments to draw upon the moneys in their hands for all expenditures necessary for the collection of the revenue, and these required no vote of Parliament or approval of the Executive and could be varied by the departmental heads at will and without limit. In 1855 these deductions from revenue amounted to \$793,927.25, and in the following year the figure was \$939,765.66.²² These were large amounts to be spent without the approval and frequently even the knowledge of the Legislature.

Thus Langton found that an Order-in-Council, or even a departmental order, was accepted as sufficient authority for certain expenditures, unappropriated by, and in one instance at least, in direct defiance of Parliament. He recognized the problems involved in the appropriation and administrative audits, but he was unable to apply them fully while such conditions existed. He was forced to restrict himself to reporting those expenditures made only on the authority of Orders-in-Council, the "unprovided items," and those expenditures treated as deductions of revenue, ascertaining simply that the authorization which custom demanded was secured.

Two further elements complicated the problem of control. One was the result of the practice of issuing accountable warrants to the accountants of the spending departments. During the course of the year the full amount voted was placed to the credit of the departments. The votes were intended to cover the expenditures for the calendar year, but if the full amount of any warrant was not spent, the balance was not written off, but remained as a credit of the department and could be spent in subse-

²⁰*Public Accounts of the Province of Canada, 1855; ibid., 1856.*

²¹*The Speeches of the Right Hon. Edmund Burke with Memoir and Historical Introduction by James Burke* (Dublin, 1860), 183.

²²*Public Accounts, 1855; ibid., 1856.*

quent years. Thus the voting of annual supply was no assurance that the departments would restrict themselves to the current amounts voted. Langton, himself, recalled that when he sat in the Legislature he had made use of this practice to secure a payment for which the current appropriations were not available. As Auditor he admitted the impropriety of the procedure, and pressed Cayley to introduce the rule that "any balance of an appropriation unexpended after a certain time should die a natural death."²³

The second factor was the policy of the banks of making advances to the departments and to departmental contractors in anticipation of the voting and release of supply, and served to speed the departments upon their improvident ways, and to weaken the power of Parliament.

Two instances of expenditure without parliamentary approval indicate the nature of the problem of control as it existed during the first years of Langton's term as Auditor.

In April, 1851, the province had taken over from the British government the control of 601 post offices. During the next year the number had been increased to 854, and within five years it had risen to 1,375. The receipts were sufficient to cover only a portion of the expenses, and with the opening of new offices a series of increasing deficits resulted. "Postal accommodations," relates Smith, "were extended, always as occasion demanded, and seldom as immediate prospective revenues warranted, with the result that expenses generally outran the revenues."²⁴ The expanding activities of the department and the practice of paying the expenses, in so far as was possible, from the revenues, made any accurate forecast of the net annual cost to the Treasury impossible and the resulting deficits were voted by Parliament in subsequent years. Thus, although in the year ended March 31, 1855, a revenue of £92,042 was received from postal operations, in 1856, £20,000 was voted to cover the estimated deficiencies of £7,000 for 1854 and £13,000 for 1855. But this was not the whole story.

Up to that time [wrote Langton] I now know that the deficiency was £29,000, to meet which there was only £13,000; and since then a whole year has elapsed, with the expenses of carrying the mail daily increasing both from the general rise of everything and the increased number of non-paying offices. The Postmaster General has not the smallest idea what the deficiency will be in the year just past,

²³Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 237.

²⁴W. Smith, *History of the Post Office in British North America* (Cambridge, 1920), 273-5.

but the bank which has been finding the ways and means all the time has a very good idea, it is £57,000. These are goodly sums to be expended, not only without sanction of Parliament but without the consent or even knowledge of the finance minister.²⁵

This *entente cordiale* between the banks and the spending departments, whereby the latter could obtain advances on future supply or future revenues, had existed for many years. Satisfied that once the debt had been contracted the government would be morally unable to refuse payment, the banks acquiesced in any suggestions from the departments, and were not unwilling accomplices in the task of weakening the financial power of the Legislature.

The second case of expenditure in defiance of the wishes of Parliament was that of the Militia Department and illustrates very clearly the role of the banks. The withdrawal of the imperial troops from Canada, in accordance with the policy enunciated by Grey in 1851 and in anticipation of the necessity of a strong force for service nearer home, had seriously depleted the Canadian forces. Some provincial substitute was necessary. In October, 1854, a Commission was appointed to determine the best means of reorganizing the Canadian militia, which reported in February of the following year recommending a scheme for the organization of local forces. A bill embodying the recommendations of the Commission was promptly presented to the provincial Parliament providing for the creation of an active militia force and contemplating substantially higher annual expenditures for defence.²⁶ The bill did not pass without opposition for the increase in the militia appropriations from £2,000 to £25,000 was not easily accepted. Finally to secure its passage the government agreed to the insertion of a clause providing that the expenditures contemplated by the measure would be made only on an annual vote of the Legislature, and announced that, as it did not intend to organize that year, no vote would be proposed. "Nevertheless," as Langton related, "they did partially organize, and the pay lists came to me for audit; or rather the Deputy Inspector General asked me before payment what was to be done. I pointed out that it was not only an unprovided expense, but that the Act positively prohibited any thing being paid till a vote had been taken. So they privately instructed the bank to make an advance."²⁷

²⁵Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 245-6.

²⁶C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army, 1840-1871: A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government* (London, 1936), chaps. IV and V.

²⁷Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 246.

The Auditor's role was not an easy one. The Legislature had provided no remedy for the more serious evils which the Mackenzie Committee had noted. It is true that records bearing some semblance to accounts had been set up in the Audit Office.²⁸ But, in spite of Langton's efforts, no immediate change was effected in the other departments. Chaotic records and archaic processes hampered the Auditor's efforts and retarded reform. And hanging over all his endeavours was the evil of unsanctioned expenditure which continued to minimize the sovereignty of the Assembly. An unrestrained Executive wielded enormous power. The Auditor possessed neither the authority to curb executive exuberance, nor an accessible channel through which he could inform the public and Parliament of the irregularities which his inquiries revealed. However, Langton was not to be daunted. "I have declared open war against the system," he wrote to William, "and Cayley gives me lukewarm support, but he is too timid a hand for any efficient reform. The Board of Works declare reform impossible, the Postmaster General declares it impossible, and the only warm support I get is from the bank and from the Receiver General who being the cash keeper has a commendable objection to allow any extraneous fingers to get into his purse. Nevertheless I will conquer."²⁹

As a subordinate of the Inspector-General, Langton's position was very weak. Faced with the knowledge that the will of the Assembly and even of the government itself was being constantly overridden by an entrenched bureaucracy, he was hampered by the opposition of the departments and the dependency of his own position. He was determined that he should free himself from the ministerial yoke and win the power of independent reporting. He prepared his campaign for reform with a political sagacity which an absence of only six months from the Assembly could not dull. Quietly he confided in John Young, chairman of the Public Accounts Committee, and received Young's assurance of support.³⁰ Between them a plan for reform through the investigations of the Committee was prepared, whereby Langton's evidence on the conduct of departmental business could be given prompted by the questions of members who knew beforehand what questions to ask.

Langton appeared before the Committee and gave his evidence according to plan. Upon it the Committee founded charges of

²⁸*Ibid.*, 233.

²⁹*Ibid.*, 247.

³⁰*Ibid.*, 247.

malpractice against the government³¹ which the press was not unwilling to amplify.³² The ire of the spending departments was aroused. The ministers of the departments involved sought to defend themselves, each in his own way. Cauchon, the Commissioner of Crown Lands, believing that offence was the best defence, charged Langton with dereliction of duty, challenged the veracity of his evidence, and denied that he had ever audited the accounts. Langton, in the heat of his anger, privately alleged that Cauchon had certainly mistaken the spelling of his name, and publicly through Cayley sought to defend himself in the House. The Inspector-General, however, was not anxious to defend his subordinate against the wrath of his own colleagues. John A. Macdonald spoke in praise of Langton, told of the pledge given that he would be unfettered in the audit of the accounts, but went no further. Langton, through a friend, moved for the tabling of the correspondence between Cauchon, Cayley, and himself in a last effort to have his position clarified.³³ The papers were published, but in the confusion of the ministerial crisis the matter was allowed to subside. So ended Langton's first attempt at reform. It did not succeed in giving the Auditor the right of independent reporting, but it did serve several purposes. Gradually the departments conformed to Langton's wishes in the matter of presenting the accounts, and by November, 1856, he could say that even the Crown Lands Department was brought "to a satisfactory state as far as auditing is concerned."³⁴

Also, although not authorized to do so, the Auditor encouraged the departments to send applications for money warrants to him before payment, and with the gradual acceptance of this procedure, he drove his first wedge of control into government expenditure.

The first step towards effective control had been taken, but in securing the first thin thread of control over the issue Langton had acted, not on the authority of any legislative direction, but on the uncertain sufferance of the departments. His unauthorized pre-audit might be stopped at the discretion of those whose accounts were concerned and with this possibility ever present in his thoughts he refused to leave his purpose unattained. Statutory power to control the issue, independence, rigid application of the system of appropriation, these were the objectives that the Auditor set for himself.

³¹*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1856, appendix 30.

³²*Toronto Globe*, May 15, 1856.

³³*Journals of the Legislative Assembly*, 1856, appendix 68.

³⁴Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 267.

Expenditure without legislative sanction continued to be a thorn in Langton's side, and indeed the public accounts show that it came to involve an increasingly important part of the expenditures.³⁵ The Auditor, however, pressed his campaign for reform. Gradually the cause was taken up throughout the country.³⁶ Charges of abuses and frauds were made, both in the Assembly and elsewhere, and by 1862, William P. Howland, the Minister of Finance,³⁷ had become a convert to the reform cause. "The true system," he wrote in the *Public Accounts* for 1862, "appears to be one that will bring into the Treasury the whole of the receipts, from whatever source derived, and that will confer upon Parliament the power, and impose upon it the duty, of determining specifically the sums that shall be expended under departmental authorization and supervision."³⁸

The demands for reform became more insistent and forced the government to act. On November 26, 1862, the Governor, under the Great Seal of the province, appointed Thomas Storrow Brown, William Bristow, and George Sheppard "to enquire into the prevailing mode of keeping the Public Accounts of this Province, the items of receipt and disbursement of money by every Department of the Public Service, and how the same have been and are now checked and audited."³⁹ The Commission lost little time in getting to work. In the initiatory stages of its proceedings, the object of the Commission was avowedly "to scrutinize the efficiency of the working of the system as now in force, the degree of harmony it insures amongst the several departments, and the amount of protection it affords against fraudulent or wasteful expenditure."⁴⁰ The Auditor, the Acting Deputy Inspector-General, the Deputy Receiver-General, and other members of the permanent service were summoned, and the picture of the financial organization was revealed.

It was not a picture of perfection and efficiency which the evidence brought to light. "The official holding the high title of Auditor" received the particular attention of the Commissioners and John Langton was not unwilling to use the occasion to further

³⁵*Public Accounts, 1855 to 1862; First Report of the Financial and Departmental Commission of the Province of Canada* (Quebec, 1863), appendices I and III, ii-iii.

³⁶See *Toronto Globe*, June 16, 1864, for statements of candidates in election in 1861; *Quebec Mercury*, as quoted in *Toronto Globe*, Dec. 3, 1862.

³⁷The office of Inspector-General was changed to that of Minister of Finance in 1859 by 22 Vic., c. 14.

³⁸*Public Accounts, 1862*, vi.

³⁹*First Financial and Departmental Commission Report*, 3; see also *Toronto Globe*, Nov. 24, 1862, and *Montreal Gazette*, Nov. 24, 1862.

⁴⁰*First Financial and Departmental Commission Report*, 6.

his own campaign for reform, and to point out the limitation of his own authority. "Are we to understand," he was asked at the conclusion of his evidence, "that by the creation of your office, the duty of examining and auditing Public Accounts, which previously devolved upon the Inspector General's Department generally, was referred to you, not as an independent authority, but merely as an officer of the Finance Minister's Department, in which you are a subordinate specially employed for the purpose?" "The question, I think," replied Langton, "accurately describes the nature of my duties and position. I am aware that the general impression is, that I have more power than I really possess, and that I am held responsible for things over which I have no control."⁴¹ It was left to the Commissioners to comment that "this exhibition by the Auditor of his mode of exercising his functions demonstrates the inadequacy of the system as a safeguard of the public interests."⁴²

The Commission published an interim report on May 23, 1863, and a second report on February 11, 1864.⁴³ No recommendations were made as it did not consider the suggestion of remedies within its province. Authorized "to investigate the system under which the financial affairs of Canada have been conducted," the Commissioners confined themselves to this well-defined sphere, merely pointing out the nature of the disorders and weaknesses so that the government might prescribe the reforms which would "secure the efficient working of the public service." But in the confines of their allotted sphere, they did not hesitate to stress that evidence in which the faults of the system were revealed.

Paraphrasing the report of the Committee of 1854, they emphasized the irregularity of the practices of making advances on the sole order of heads of departments without reference to the Executive Council, and of permitting expenditures in excess of, or entirely without, appropriation by Parliament, and quoted in approval Howland's view that the true system would "confer upon Parliament the power, and impose upon it the duty, of determining specifically the sums that shall be expended under departmental authorisation and supervision."⁴⁴ They directed attention to the deficiencies of the audit. "The practice of the Auditor," they reported, "amounts to little beyond a comparison of figures with

⁴¹*Ibid.*, Evidence, 15.

⁴²*Ibid.*, 9.

⁴³*Second Report of the Financial and Departmental Commission of the Province of Canada* (Quebec, 1864).

⁴⁴*First Financial and Departmental Commission Report*, 12.

figures, to see that statements, accounts and vouchers rendered to him compare arithmetically on their face, but in verification of the substance of the accounts audited it amounts to nothing." The conclusion reached in regard to the deficiencies of the accounting records adequately described the whole situation: "the fault is in the system—or, rather, the want of system—which only a comprehensive scheme of change can remedy."⁴⁵

Such wholesale condemnation of the audit system, echoed in the press,⁴⁶ could not be ignored. The Hon. Alexander Galt, who had been appointed Minister of Finance on March 30, 1864, introduced a bill for the amendment of the Audit Act at the current session of the Assembly, which, passing the House, received the assent of the Governor-General on June 30.⁴⁷

Under the amending Act, which had the general approval of all parties,⁴⁸ the Auditor became chairman of the Board of Audit, replacing the Deputy Inspector-General, and the membership of the Board was increased from three to seven. Each member was allotted certain accounts to pre-audit. The expenditures of the Post Office, the Department of Crown Lands, and the Department of Public Works were to be audited primarily by their respective deputy ministers. The Commissioner of Customs, in addition to the audit of the revenue of the customs and excise, as required of him under the former Act, was called upon to verify the collection and other expenses of the customs and excise officers. The accounts of the government with its fiscal agent in London and with the several banks were to be kept by the Deputy Receiver-General, who was also required to audit the interest on the public debt.

All other accounts were to be audited by the Inspector-General and the Auditor, and the duties of each were to be determined by the Governor-in-Council.

Such were the provisions for the primary or pre-audit, and to add a further element of protection, the Act provided that all accounts audited in the first instance by other members of the Board should be submitted to the Auditor for final verification and review, instead of to the Inspector-General as was the case under the former Act.

The responsibility for the regulation and control of the issue

⁴⁵Second Financial and Departmental Commission Report, 74.

⁴⁶Quebec Mercury, Feb. 12, 15, 17, and 18, 1864; Montreal Gazette, Feb. 13, 1864; Toronto Globe, Feb. 18, 1864.

⁴⁷Statutes of the Province of Canada, 1864, c. 6.

⁴⁸Toronto Globe, May 7, 1864.

was vested in the Auditor. He was required to see that no warrant was issued without the direct authorization of Parliament and he was directed to report through the Minister of Finance to the Governor-in-Council every case in which an accountable advance was used for any purpose other than that for which an appropriation was intended, or was in excess of the amount appropriated.

The executive relinquished the right to order expenditures not previously sanctioned by Parliament, but the problem of urgent and unforeseen expenses, which would have created serious difficulties, was recognized and partially solved. In the event of any accident happening to any public work or building requiring immediate outlay to repair it and if there was no appropriation available, the Governor-in-Council, on the recommendation of the Commissioner of Public Works, might direct the Auditor to prepare a warrant for the expenditure. The repairs could thus be made without the long delay which prior authorization by Parliament would have made inevitable, and the supremacy of the Legislature was at least theoretically maintained by requiring the Auditor to table the relevant documents on the first day of the next session.

Langton could look at the new legislation with satisfaction for it was the result of his untiring efforts and, in large measure, the realization of his own aims. Parliament had established its right to control the expenditures without the important reservations which the practices of expenditure as "deductions from revenue" and of expenditure on executive authority had made in the conception of parliamentary supremacy under the former Act. Langton's goal of prior parliamentary approval for all expenditures was attained, with the wise provision of the Governor-General's warrant for the urgent and exceptional case.

The Auditor gained a greater power under the Act. He had won the control of the issue and had secured a dominant place in the audit. All accounts were required to be submitted to him for review. His position in respect to the departments was thus strengthened, but in gathering power to himself, he did not gain independence. As before his reports were to the Executive, and as before he was the servant of the Ministry.

Another change of importance was made in the method of paying that part of the expenditure which was in the hands of the sub-accountants. Formerly amounts voted by Parliament and placed to the credit of the departments did not lapse if they were unspent at the end of the year for which they were voted. Many

small balances had accumulated and had been spent in subsequent years. Under the new system, the fiscal year was changed from the calendar year to the twelve months ending June 30, and on June 30, 1864, all outstanding balances were refunded and in place of the accountable warrant system, a scheme of letters of credit was instituted.⁴⁹ Under this new system, instead of making advances to the departmental accountants, letters of credit were issued, authorizing the banks to pay cheques of the departments up to a certain amount, but in no case in excess of the amount voted by Parliament. These credits covered expenditures made during the course of the fiscal year. The authority for payment of cheques drawn during the period did not lapse and cheques presented in later years could be paid, but a letter of credit was no authority for the payment of cheques drawn in subsequent years. A new credit was required annually for each vote, drawn in accordance with the terms of the current appropriations. A decided advance had been made in the system of issue.

The expenditures for the six months' period ended June 30, 1864, had already been incurred prior to the passage of the Act and in advance of the voting of supply. Estimates were submitted to the House to cover the expenditures previously made, and provision was made for voting supply for the ensuing year. Granting increased authority to the Legislature, augmented power and responsibility to the Auditor, and restricted freedom to the administrative departments, the new procedure was introduced on July 1, 1864.

For the first time since 1855, the *Public Accounts* for 1865 did not include a statement of "unprovided items," and the legislative authority over expenditure appeared to have been established. However, before the end of the following year, a situation was to arise which was to lead to the disbursement of large sums without a vote of the House and in contravention of the law, and which was to be responsible for an important addition to the statutory provisions for control.

In 1865, the plans of the Fenians for the invasion and conquest of Canada threatened the provincial security. In May, 1866, the government began to prepare for the defence of the province. In June the first raid was launched and the militia was called out. The militia votes were quite inadequate for the demands so unexpectedly made upon them. Immediate expenditures were necessary for the raising and equipping of a volunteer force to

⁴⁹*Public Accounts*, 1865, v.

defend the frontiers and repel the invaders.⁵⁰ The legislation of 1864 expressly prohibited expenditures which had not been sanctioned by Parliament, and the single exception, for urgently required repairs to public works and buildings, did not apply. The Minister of Militia pointed out that delay might be disastrous for the province. Success lay in immediate expenditure in deliberate disregard of the Audit Act, and on the advice of the Auditor and the Minister of Militia, this was the course followed. That it was done deliberately, Galt admitted in his budget speech on June 26, 1866. "The government," he stated, "are perfectly conscious of the responsibility they incurred during the year now closing, in violating the provisions of the law in regard to the public expenditure and they do not desire to be again put in that position."⁵¹

The estimates had provided the sum of \$500,000 for militia purposes; Galt had intimated that by the end of the year \$1,638,868 would have been spent;⁵² and when the *Public Accounts* for 1866 were published, a total of \$1,640,554.52 was shown as expended for militia, of which \$1,123,986.18 was for frontier service.⁵³

Thus on the eve of Confederation a serious deficiency in the system of expenditure control had been revealed. By erecting a bulwark against unauthorized expenditures, the way had been opened for an even more flagrant breach of the law. In place of the laxity of control which the Financial and Departmental Commission had criticized, a rigidity had been introduced more destructive to the power of the Legislature than the condition which had existed before. Under the former system, expenditures had been made without the sanction of Parliament; under the new, when the national security had called for action, expenditures had been made in defiance of the directions of the Assembly.

The government did not treat lightly its breach of a law which had been in force less than two years. A bill was presented to the Legislature indemnifying the members of the Executive, the Auditor, and all others concerned in advising and carrying out the violation of the Act, and authorizing any further militia expenditures required before the passing of the next supply bill. The indemnifying bill was passed and received the vice-regal assent on August 15, 1866.⁵⁴

⁵⁰Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 189ff.; H. L. Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States: Some Aspects of the History of the Republic and the Dominion* (New York, 1929), 144ff.

⁵¹Speech of the Hon. A. T. Galt . . . in Introducing the Budget (Ottawa, 1866), 5.

⁵²Ibid., 8.

⁵³Public Accounts, 1866, i, 131.

⁵⁴Statutes of the Province of Canada, 1866, c. 9.

Galt had intimated that the government was unwilling to be placed in such an invidious position again, but the situation was not to be remedied through provincial legislation. When the Parliament was prorogued in August, 1866, the last statute of the Province of Canada had been enacted. For fifteen months, until November 6, 1867, when the first session of the Parliament of the confederated provinces was convened at Ottawa, no legislation was possible. The London Conference in December, 1866, the debate on the British North America bill in the imperial Parliament, and the subsequent election of representatives to the new Dominion House of Commons made delay inevitable. The amendment of the financial and audit legislation gave place to matters of greater moment.

Under royal proclamation, the British North America Act came into effect on the first day of July, 1867. Until elections could be held, and the Parliament convened, authority was needed to carry on the business of government. The Act provided that until the federal Parliament should make other provision, all laws in force at the time of union were to remain in effect, all provincial civil servants who were discharging duties not assigned exclusively to the provinces were to be officers of Canada, and a temporary authority was vested in the Governor-in-Council to provide for an audit and to make appointments so that the business of government might be carried on.

Under these provisions Langton continued to control the issue and to audit the accounts as a federal officer, although for nearly six months there was no federal statute to define his duties and no appropriations upon which to base his audit.

The circumstances under which the Dominion had come into being made it impossible to obtain prior legislative approval for the expenditures which were required to carry on the public business. From the first of July until the granting of supply in December, all payments were made on the responsibility of the Executive. When the House met, the Ministry submitted a bill asking for one appropriation of \$5,264,279 to cover the amounts previously spent and to defray the further expenses of the government up to March 31, 1868.⁵⁵

On December 11, 1867, the Hon. John Rose, the Minister of Finance, introduced a bill "respecting the collection and management of the revenue, the auditing of public accounts, and the liability of public accountants,"⁵⁶ which was passed and received

⁵⁵ *Statutes of Canada*, 1867, c. 4.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, c. 5.

the assent of the Governor-General on December 21.

With several important exceptions, the bill was a re-enactment of the provincial statute of 1864, incorporating only such amendments as the constitution of the new state and the experience of 1866 dictated. The Board of Audit was re-established and its membership was increased from seven to nine. The Auditor, retaining the dominant position allotted to him in 1864, was designated chairman. Each member of the Board was assigned the audit of the accounts which came within the purview of his position, and the Auditor was entrusted with the audit of all other accounts, and, as before, accounts primarily audited by other members of the Board were to be submitted to him for a final reckoning and review.

In retaining his high position as chairman, the Auditor was not unfettered in his authority over his fellow members. Differences of opinion between him and any member of the Board were subject to the decision of the Board as a whole, which in turn was only binding when approved by the Minister of Finance.

Over the issue the Auditor retained his control. All payments from the Treasury were to be made by cheque, signed by the Receiver-General and the Minister of Finance. However, and here the Auditor's hand was placed on the main artery of the public purse, no cheque could be drawn except upon the warrant of the Governor-in-Council, and with two exceptions, no warrant could issue without the Auditor's certificate that there was parliamentary authority for the expenditure. However, if the Auditor refused to certify on the ground that there was no parliamentary authority, the Minister of Finance might direct that a warrant be prepared over the Auditor's objections if the Attorney-General, in a written opinion, stated that such authority existed.

The second exception was a re-enactment and extension of the provision for urgent and unforeseen expenditures which had been incorporated in the statute of 1864. This was now extended to prevent a repetition of the embarrassing situation which had arisen at the time of the Fenian raids. Under the provincial legislation, urgently required repairs to public works and buildings could be made on the authority of a special warrant of the Governor. This was now amended to provide that:

If when Parliament is not in session, any accident happens to any public work or building which requires an immediate outlay for the repair thereof, or any other occasion arises when any expenditure not foreseen or provided for by Parliament is urgently or immediately required for the public good, then upon the Report of the

Minister of Finance that there is no parliamentary provision, and of the Minister having charge of the particular service in question, that the necessity is urgent, the Governor in Council may order a special warrant to be prepared, to be signed by the Governor himself, for the issue of the amount estimated to be required, which shall be placed by the Receiver General to a special account, against which warrants may issue from time to time in the usual form, as they may be required⁵⁷ [the italics are the present author's].

Here in its complete form appeared the provision for emergency requirements which was to be the authority for such unprovided but essential expenditures for many years to come. The rigidity of the former clause had been recognized and with the broadened definition of urgent requirements, a ready instrument had been wrought to meet unforeseen demands upon the Treasury.

In assessing the advance which Langton had made towards his oft-enunciated goal of authority and independence, positive and negative elements are evident. In so far as the audit was concerned, Langton was not independent of the Executive. He was subject to the overriding authority of a majority opinion of the Board, which in turn was subject to the approval of the Minister.

As for the control of the issue, apart from the two exceptions noted, the Auditor continued to regulate the issue, and as a servant of the Executive he was obliged to report to the Council any payment from an accountable warrant without, or in excess of, parliamentary authority. But in one case he was directed to act as the servant of Parliament. Reports of all special warrants, all legal opinions overruling the Auditor, and all expenditures incurred as a consequence thereof, were to be presented by him to Parliament through the Minister of Finance. Here was the first step towards independence. Henceforth Parliament was to know when, acting on the advice of the Law Officer of the Crown, the government had overruled the Auditor. For the first time the Damoclesian sword of publicity was held over the head of the Executive. Henceforth executive disobedience to parliamentary direction was to be reported to the peoples' representatives by their servant the Auditor. In embryo a valuable instrument was emerging that was to serve Parliament well in its effort to maintain complete control of the purse. If "publicity is the safeguard of public liberties, and secures control over the accounts,"⁵⁸ in demanding notice of all cases in which the government had ordered expenditures in the face of the Auditor's objections,

⁵⁷*Ibid.*, c. 5, s. 35(2).

⁵⁸Durell, *Parliamentary Grants*, 6.

Parliament had safeguarded the Treasury against raids by the Executive.

On July 1, 1867, the staffs of the Audit Offices of Canada, New Brunswick, and Nova Scotia were transferred to the Dominion. The twelve members of the Canadian office, with Langton in charge, formed the nucleus of the federal staff which conducted the audit in Ottawa.⁵⁹ In the Maritimes the former provincial officials continued to examine the accounts until the administration was centralized in Ottawa.

In 1856, when Langton was developing his conception of his duties, the Auditor's right to intervene in matters of administration had claimed his attention. Discussing the question with his brother he had doubted whether a faulty system of managing the public business⁶⁰ was any concern of his, but he had added that while it was "questionable whether I should not be considered as going beyond my province if I were to report upon other questions of general finance, and yet I long to do so."⁶¹ With the increasing stature of the Auditor in the realm of the financial and accounting affairs of the province, had come an increasing administrative responsibility. Succeeding legislative enactments consolidated his position, and after Confederation the solution of the many questions arising from the terms of the financial settlement naturally devolved upon him.

For many months after the Union, the federal and provincial accounts were in a state of chronic derangement. Moneys were collected and disbursed by the Dominion on account of the provinces, and upon Langton and his subordinates fell the onerous duty of making a division and adjustment of the revenues and expenditures. Also it was the Auditor's lot to carry out the accounting work involved in transferring the debts and assets of the late provinces to the books of the Dominion and the newly constituted provincial governments, in itself a problem of considerable magnitude and intricacy. The British North America Act had determined the distribution of the powers and responsibilities, the allocation of the revenues and duties, and the division of the property and debts of the provinces. Langton shouldered the major responsibility for effecting those transfers that concerned the public accounts. The classification of the assets and liabilities, their evaluation and allotment according to the terms of the financial sections of the Act; the adjustment of revenues collected

⁵⁹Public Accounts of the Dominion of Canada, 1867, i, 46; *ibid.*, 1868, i, 54, 59.
⁶⁰Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 225. ⁶¹Ibid., 226.

for the provinces, and of expenditures made on their account; the calculation of the excess debt or debt allowance, and the interest payable thereon: such were some of the problems that arose. The Auditor's correspondence with the provincial representatives on the financial settlements of Confederation⁶² reveals the extent of the accounting problem involved and the manner in which John Langton undertook its solution, and suggests why in later years John Rose, the Minister of Finance, could say that "Mr. Langton was one of the most efficient, painstaking and laborious officers with whom he had ever come in contact."⁶³

In 1869, the Department of Finance was constituted by statute,⁶⁴ and the Auditor-General and the Deputy Inspector-General were equally ranked as the principal officers of the department.

The same Act contained another provision of far-reaching importance. A Treasury Board was created, consisting of the Minister of Finance, the Receiver-General, the Minister of Customs, and the Minister of Inland Revenue, which, as a Committee of the Privy Council, was to supervise "all matters relating to Finance, Revenue and Expenditure or Public Accounts which may be referred to it by the Council, or to which the Board may think it necessary to call the attention of the Council." The Board was given wide powers of inquiry, and to carry out the administrative work, a secretary, who could hold any other office in the Civil Service, could be appointed by the Governor-in-Council.

The years subsequent to Confederation had witnessed the Board of Audit becoming less and less of a force in the direction of the audit. The *Public Accounts* were prepared annually by Langton and presented to the Minister in its name, but, relying increasingly upon the Auditor for the execution of its statutory duties, the Board had become practically moribund.⁶⁵ Such audit inquiries as were made were conducted by Langton in the time available after his growing administrative duties had been performed.

The Act had cleared the way for the legal broadening of the Auditor's duties by ministerial or Cabinet order. Actually Langton had already assimilated the greater part of the departmental responsibilities and the legislation merely accelerated the process. He was appointed secretary to the newly constituted

⁶²*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1870, no. 50; *ibid.*, 1885, no. 34; *Journal and Proceedings of the House of Assembly of Nova Scotia*, 1869, appendix 1.

⁶³*Ottawa Times*, May 4, 1870.

⁶⁴*Statutes of Canada*, 1869, c. 4.

⁶⁵*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1870, no. 43; J. M. Courtney and A. Shortt, "Dominion Finance" (*Canada and Its Provinces*, VII, ed. A. Shortt and A. G. Doughty, Toronto, 1914, 504).

Treasury Board and thenceforth received an additional \$1,000 for his increased duties.⁶⁶ His new duties, while adding prestige and authority, nevertheless required full dependence upon a ministerial committee. It was the first mile-stone on a path that led Langton into accepting increasing administrative responsibilities to the executive, which it was his duty as Auditor to restrain.

In 1870, a second and final step was taken towards consolidating Langton's position as an administrative officer. The presence of two officers of equal rank within the Department of Finance had proved an ill-contrived means of maintaining effective control. The "undesirable double responsibility" publicly acknowledged by Hincks⁶⁷ and the undeniable personal force and industry of Langton led to full authority for the administration of the affairs of the department being placed in the hands of the Auditor. Following the acceptance of the final report of the Civil Service Commissioners⁶⁸ recommending the amalgamation of the auditing and accounting branches of the Department of Finance, a bill amending the Department of Finance Act was introduced and passed,⁶⁹ whereby the position of Deputy Inspector-General was abolished and all powers and duties of the office were transferred to the Auditor-General who became Deputy Minister of Finance. For some years Langton had borne the major responsibility for the administration of financial matters.⁷⁰ Each accrual of administrative authority produced a corresponding diminution of the time available for the examination of the accounts and reduced the audit of accounts to a mere report on the nature and extent of the revenues and expenditures.

In 1856, Langton had written to his brother that the government should have given him the power of "independent" reporting. Discussing the difficulty of effecting reforms in the confused departmental accounts, he had asserted "it is their own fault making it a dependent office."⁷¹ It is not clear whether Langton's conception of independence was freedom from executive domination or freedom from influence of the Inspector-General. In either case his situation in 1870 was a far cry from 1856. As Deputy Minister of Finance he was the immediate subordinate

⁶⁶*Public Accounts*, 1870, 69.

⁶⁷*Toronto Globe*, April 14, 1870.

⁶⁸*Canada, Sessional Papers*, 1870, no. 64.

⁶⁹*Statutes of Canada*, 1870, c. 7.

⁷⁰*Public Accounts*, 1869, iv-ix; *ibid.*, 1871, ix-x; *Canada, Journals of the House of Commons*, 1870, appendix 2, Eighth report of the Select Standing Committee on Public Accounts, 7-15; Courtney and Shortt, "Dominion Finance," 476-8, 501.

⁷¹Langton (ed.), *Early Days in Upper Canada*, 248.

of the Minister of Finance; as the Secretary of the Treasury Board, he was the servant of a powerful executive committee. In 1856, Langton had prophesied, "It will end in giving me the power of independent reporting."⁷² In 1870, he was firmly entrenched within the confines of the executive camp.

The same year was marked by a new Fenian raid which occasioned a sudden call upon the Treasury for funds for the defence of the frontier, and demonstrated the value of the special warrant clause of the Audit Act. The invaders were successfully driven back,⁷³ but not without heavy demands upon the Treasury. As in 1866, the militia appropriations were insufficient to meet the demands so suddenly and imperatively made upon them. But unlike 1866, the provision for unforeseen expenditures provided a lawful access to the Treasury without the delay which prior appropriation by Parliament necessitated.

In all \$198,289.35 was expended in repelling the invasion. The ingeniously wrought instrument of the Governor-General's Warrant was not sufficiently familiar to those who had availed themselves of it, for them to do so without serious doubt as to the legality of the process. To set these doubts at rest, and to establish a lawful basis for the expenditure, on February 28, 1871, Hincks introduced a resolution to indemnify the executive government, the Auditor-General, and all others concerned in advising or carrying out the Order-in-Council, or in advancing or expending the moneys thereby released.⁷⁴ The bill was passed, and on April 14 the vice-regal assent was given.⁷⁵

In 1871, when the Métis uprising in Manitoba threatened the national security, a similar course was followed. The expenses of the expeditionary force were provided for by warrant; \$62,150.72 was spent under its authority; and at the ensuing session, a bill, indemnifying the executive, the Auditor, and all other officers concerned in determining or carrying out the terms of the warrant, was passed.⁷⁶

The mould in which the financial system was set had been firmly fixed by 1870. With the exception of minor amendments in 1870, 1871, and 1876,⁷⁷ the system as then established was continued without change until 1878. The regulation of the issue

⁷²Ibid., 248.

⁷³Stacey, *Canada and the British Army*, 242; Keenleyside, *Canada and the United States*, 152ff.; *The Dominion Annual Register and Review*, 1878, 19.

⁷⁴Dominion Parliamentary Debates, Feb. 28, 1871, compiled by John Cotton.

⁷⁵Statutes of Canada, 1871, c. 2.

⁷⁶Ibid., 1872, c. 4; *Dominion Annual Register and Review*, 1878, 23.

⁷⁷Statutes of Canada, 1870, c. 8; *ibid.*, 1871, c. 11; *ibid.*, 1876, c. 2.

and the direction of the audit continued to constitute a part of the Auditor's duties, but the supervision of the financial administration and the secretarial duties on behalf of the Treasury Board demanded the greater portion of his attention. The tendency to focus financial authority in the person of one resourceful and industrious civil servant resulted in the overburdening of the Auditor. Those duties which could be regarded as routine were delegated to subordinates, and increasingly John Langton devoted his time and talents to the varying administrative problems as they arose from day to day.

The pyramiding of responsibility had produced a corresponding diminution in the intensity of the audit. Gradually the fallacy of a system in which administrative and critical functions were combined in the person of one man was recognized, and the government prepared to correct the situation. On March 19, 1878, a new audit bill was introduced by Cartwright.⁷⁸ Separating the offices of Auditor and Deputy Minister of Finance, and establishing the Audit Office as an agent of the Legislature, in all its essentials the new measure was a replica of the English Exchequer and Audit Department Act of 1866. On April 15, the bill was passed and on August 1, it came into force.⁷⁹

With the coming into operation of the new Act, Langton's long association with governmental finances came to an end. On August 1 he was retired on superannuation, John Lorn McDougall was appointed Auditor-General, and John Mortimer Courtney received the post of Deputy Minister of Finance.

Of the part Langton played in the drafting of the Act there is little direct evidence. For nearly a quarter of a century he had taken a leading part in shaping and guiding the financial administration of Canada. His industry and capacity had created an efficient audit process; his clear vision and analytical mind had driven to the core of many perplexing administrative problems; his genius was stamped on many of the practices and processes of the day. In his early years as Auditor, his philosophical bent had led him close to the high objectives of independence and non-intervention in executive affairs; in his later years, his singular endowments, shaded it may be by ambition, had led him to assume high administrative authority. To deny that he had dominated the financial structure would be to repudiate the facts; his hand

⁷⁸*Canada, House of Commons Debates*, 1878, March 19, March 28, April 2, April 4, April 15.

⁷⁹*Statutes of Canada*, 1878, c. 7.

was on the wheel during many turbulent years. To claim for him an enduring place in the annals of Canadian administration, would be asking but his due; no man has contributed more to the financial practices and precedents of today. To assess his influence on the development of the audit, we should stress his work in the years prior to Confederation, for then the basis for the audit was laid, the audit objectives were clarified, and the first effective examination was conducted. However, to claim that the legislation of 1878 was the achievement of his early aims would be, at best, a partial statement of the facts, for the Act was the negation of the progressive concentration of responsibility which had characterized his career subsequent to 1867. When tempted by the offer of administrative power, Langton had bartered his half-won independence for the gilded yoke of executive bondage. When the yoke was lifted in 1878, another man assumed John Langton's place. The history of the post-Confederation years may have dimmed the brilliance of his early work, but he should be remembered as being one of the foremost of those who forced a retreating executive, in that last rear-guard action in the years prior to 1864, to relinquish to Parliament its last thin thread of control over the public purse.

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DOCUMENT

AN EARLY SETTLER ON THE OTTAWA

No pioneer farmer is supposed to have penetrated the Ottawa valley beyond the Long Sault district until the last two years of the eighteenth century; then a few disbanded soldiers took up land on the Lièvre, and Philemon Wright made the preparations for his settlement at Hull. But it now appears that a lone settler had arrived in that country a full dozen years earlier and had begun a farm at an even more remote spot, the Chats Falls. He was not, like Wright, the leader of a movement of migration, nor can his achievement in opening up the wilderness in any way compare with the latter's; but it is still worth recording as a pioneering feat, when we consider the date and the isolation from other farmers.

This man was Joseph Mondion, a former resident of Vaudreuil¹ who had been engaged in the Indian trade.² Since the "waste lands of the Crown" could then only be granted as seigniories, he squatted on the land he had chosen, but when the Proclamation of February 7, 1792, made small grants possible he hastened to apply for a legal title, asking for a thousand acres. In his petition he declared with delightful frankness: "Quil auroit depuis Six années formé un nouvel Etablissement Sur une terre dependante des domaines de Sa Majesté en bas du portage des Chats"; this land "il auroit déjà Commencé à défricher et y auroit bati une maison assez Considerable avec d'autres batiments, et Sur la quelle il reside lui même avec sa famille depuis ce tems, et Continue jurement à augmenter et ameliorer le dit Etablissement Se proposant dy fixer absolument Sa Demeure, attendu qu'il y fait un Commerce assez avantageux avec les marchands des pays d'en haut avec les quels il auroit fait des arrangements pour leur fournir des objets qui leur Sont absolument nécessaires et qu'ils aiment mieux Se procurer Chez lui qu'ailleurs."³ Trade with the *voyageurs* was evidently his main interest; all the same, this was obviously a real attempt to make a permanent farm in a new country.

¹Public Archives of Canada, *Series S*, Land, Onslow, Certificate of Chartier de Lotbinière and others, Vaudreuil, April 20, 1800.

²*Series S*, Trade Licenses 1774-90, List of Indian trade passes issued during 1781; list of Indian trade passes issued during 1782.

³*Series S*, Land, Onslow, Petition of Joseph Mondion, Bas du Portage des Chats, Aug. 7, 1792.

Indeed, we can even gauge the extent of his improvements and see that they were "assez considerables." By 1800, though his establishment had become "very useful to the traders going up or coming down" the Ottawa, he was beset by financial difficulties and in order to discharge a debt sold the farm to Forsyth Richardson & Co. With it he sold his pretensions to the thousand acres—for in common with many other petitioners for waste lands he had as yet got no grant.⁴ Almost at once the North West Company applied for part of the same tract,⁵ putting up three small buildings to bolster their claim, and an excellent official survey made in 1803 to illustrate the rival improvements shows Mondion's house and clearings in detail. On the point that juts out into the Ottawa to the eastward of Pontiac Bay, he had cleared and fenced three fields covering altogether about twenty-five acres and had put up "A House raised upon a Stone foundation of framed or squared timber 34 feet by 32 without covered with boards having two Chimnies with Cellars and Outhouses &c" with a "Barn and Stables of round cedar logs and covered with Shingle's 61½ feet by 28½ without."⁶ Traces of these buildings may remain, for the point is still treeless and at present unbuilt upon.⁷

Mondion evidently went back to Vaudreuil.⁸ Forsyth Richardson & Co. got their grant after some delay, and Simon McTavish vented the Nor'-Westers' disgust in a letter that is worth reproducing here both for its sarcasm and the light it sheds on the Company's attitude to government aid, though it tells us nothing more about Mondion:

Montreal 4th. June 1804

Sir

Last Saturday was handed to me by Messrs. Forsyth Richardson & Co. a packet address'd to Duncan McGillivray, who being now in England, I opened it, and found that it contained your favor of the 31st. Ult. inclosing the Report of a Committee of the Council on his petition in behalf of the North West Company for ten acres of land at the Châts, and on the petition of Messrs. Forsyth Richardson & Co for a thousand acres at the same place.

It might be reckoned presumptuous in me to comment upon the report of so respectable a Body—but I cannot avoid remarking that it would have been enough

⁴*Series S, Land, Onslow, "Transport par le Sr. Jh. Mondion—A Messieurs Thomas Forsyth, Jn. Richardson & John Forsyth Esqrs—,"* Montreal, Oct. 29, 1800; Petition of John Forsyth for Joseph Mondion, Quebec, Jan. 21, 1801.

⁵*Series S, Land, Onslow, Petition of Duncan McGillivray and others, Montreal, Feb. 5, 1801.*

⁶Public Archives of Canada, Map Division, Tray 91, 1804, "Plan of Joseph Mondions Improvements and of the Island of the Portage des Chats."

⁷National Topographic Series, Arnprior Sheet, scale 1 mile to 1 inch (1929 ed.).

⁸*Series S, Suits 1806-7, Suit of J. M. Valois against Joseph Mondion, Court of King's Bench, Montreal, April 2, 1806.*

to have rejected our petition without entering so entirely into the views of our Opponents, as to prescribe to us for the basis of an accommodation with them, the very terms which they themselves would have dictated.—Had we been disposed to accede to these terms, there would have been no occasion to apply to the Governor & Council, but as we never entertained any idea of making a settlement there, and only wished for a small Spot to serve the purpose of a trading Post; that being denied us; we shall think no more of it, and only regret having given ourselves so much trouble about so insignificant an object.—

It is well, I find, that the North West Company have so little to ask, or occasion to trouble Government so seldom. though certainly, there is no other Body of Men in the Province who have so just a claim to protection and favor.—

I have the Honor to be

Sir

Your Obedient Humble Servant,

Herman W. Ryland Esqre.

SIMON McTAVISH⁹

Nevertheless, the farm seems eventually to have passed into North West and then Hudson's Bay hands, and Bouchette probably gives us a last glimpse of it in 1832: "The dwelling-house and store bear evidence of their antiquity from the dilapidated state they are in, and the soil is too poor about the point to invite the resident agent to the culture of the farm."¹⁰ Perhaps these last words give the clue to Mondion's long isolation and final failure.

J. RICHARDSON

The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

⁹Series S, Land, Onslow.

¹⁰Joseph Bouchette, *British Dominions in North America* (London, 1832), I, 190-1; Public Archives of Canada, Map Division, Tray 65, 1832, "Plan of the Rapids of the Chats," by N. H. Baird, C.E. It is possible that the post to which Bouchette refers was one of the buildings that the Nor'-Westers had put up in 1800. We cannot be certain from the various plans of the Chats in the Public Archives. The evidence, however, seems to favour the theory that it was Mondion's house.

REVIEW ARTICLES

CANADA AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS¹

THE Canadian declaration of war in September, 1939, was a final demonstration of the position of Canada as a world state, and of the reality of foreign affairs as a theme in the history of the Dominion. Since the international relations of other states, and even some aspects of their domestic affairs, impinge so strongly on Canada, the scope of Canadian history must include topics in themselves unrelated to this country. Just as Canada forms a part of a larger world, so the contributions by Canadian writers take their place in the bibliography of international affairs. It is worthy of note that the Canadian writing on the subject covered by this review has been, in the past year, less strictly concerned with Canada than formerly.

In any study of foreign affairs at this time the war must be the focus of main interest. Its causes, character, and possible results have been, and are being, carefully studied. The range of that study, both in time and breadth, will vary according to the taste of the individual. For the purposes of this review the field is considered to run from the peace settlement of 1919 to the re-settlement after the present war, and to cover such topics—whether national or international—as seem to have an important bearing on the main theme.

I

Some general books throw, from different angles, light on the general subject. The recent edition of *The Great Powers in World Politics*, by F. H. Simonds and Brooks Emeny, is revised though not altered in essentials. It contains a study of some general factors in international affairs, followed by historical and analytical chapters on individual countries and some of the principal developments. The emphasis throughout is on recent years. A valuable feature of the book is a number of maps and charts, showing strategic and economic facts. E. H. Carr's *The Twenty Years' Crisis, 1919-1939* is not a history but an analysis of international relations in that period. The author dismisses many popular beliefs, not in a spirit of iconoclasm, but in a search for the real forces, the real meaning, and the solution. He has a healthy dislike of formulas, and looks for a true international morality based not on disguised self-interest but on a realistic conception of the common good. Harold Nicolson, with experience in the British Foreign Office and as an historian, has written in *Diplomacy* the first study of that important art which is both brief and scholarly. He sketches the history, procedure, and language of diplomacy in terms that will appeal alike to the student and the general reader. The actors on the international stage have been much in the limelight. F. H. Soward's *Moulders of National Destinies* is a collection of biographical sketches of twenty-two statesmen of three continents. Prepared originally for broadcasts, the biographies are brief and popular, but informative and calm. The most recent edition of the *Political Handbook of the World*, edited by W. H. Mallory, is a valuable reference book on the parliaments, parties, and press of the

¹This is the sixth annual review article on this subject published in the June issue of the CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. The bibliography, on p. 190, includes all the books and articles referred to in the text, together with some additional materials.

countries of the world. The facts shown are as at the beginning of 1940. *Documents and Readings in the History of Europe since 1918*, edited by W. C. Langsam and J. M. Eagan, are chosen from various sources: government publications, newspapers, diaries, monographs, etc. The first part of the volume deals with international affairs, and the documents chosen balance differing points of view. The remaining chapters are on individual countries.

While there is still lacking an adequate monograph on the peace settlement of 1919-20 as a whole, some important contributions have been made on special aspects of it. G. M. Gathorne-Hardy's *The Fourteen Points and the Treaty of Versailles*, in the "Oxford pamphlet" series, is a moderate statement calculated to dispel some of the more hasty conclusions. In *What Germany Forgot* James T. Shotwell has written a much-needed book to show that Germans and others have laid blame on the Treaty of Versailles for the condition of Germany that should in part have been laid on the war itself. Because of its brevity this is not an exhaustive study, but makes the main point clear, and refers for further details to volumes in the *Economic and Social History of the Great War*. One of the most important works on the history of post-war Europe is the first volume of *Papers and Documents relating to the Foreign Relations of Hungary*, edited by Francis Deák and Dezső Ujvary. Hungary is thus the first European country to publish its state papers for the period after the War of 1914. Apart from the great powers, there could be chosen no better country from the point of view of the historian, since not only did 1919 mark the beginning of Hungary as a separate state, but as one that occupied a pivotal position in Central Europe, and was the focus of much of European diplomacy. For the Peace Conference itself the volume contains extracts from the diary of the peace delegation, and a number of dispatches tracing the government's attitude toward the terms of peace. During the period while the treaty was under consideration Hungary was also busy in establishing its relations with neighbours. France and Italy, as the two great powers chiefly interested in south-eastern Europe, were both in negotiation with the Hungarian government. The documents reveal that France contemplated making of Hungary the centre of its policy in the Danubian area, and in exchange for economic privileges was ready to give a guarded promise of general support toward revision of the confined boundaries of the new Hungary. Such an arrangement was regarded with some suspicion in Budapest, but the country was in desperate straits. Both the Italian and British governments opposed this undermining of a treaty before it was even signed, and the whole project seems to have been dropped in favour of French support of the Little Entente. The rapprochement of Italy and Hungary, on the other hand, was to have a more lasting effect. Another contemporary source, of a different type, is Charles G. Dawes's *Journal of Reparations*. Dawes, who was chairman of the international committee of experts known as the "Dawes Committee," kept a diary from the time of his appointment; and this is now published with the report of the Committee, some letters, and other documents. Marking as it did a new approach to one of the central problems of Europe, the work of the experts led to a virtual revision of the reparations chapter. Revision through the treaty with Germany is described by W. E. Stephens in *Revisions of the Treaty of Versailles*. The author traces the formulation of those clauses (including the Covenant of the League) which provided for their own amendment, and continues with an account of the amendments actually made. It is a book which will be valued more for the material than the method of presenting it.

The bibliography on the period from the peace settlement to the present war is formidable in size and varied in quality and approach. A reader may well begin with Sir Arthur Salter's *Security: Can We Retrieve It?*. It is an interesting and serious study, inspired by the decay of international relations, but on a different level from the excited and ephemeral books that sprang up after Munich. The first part is an excellent analysis of the positions of the great powers. The chapters on Germany and the psychology of defeat, and on the United States, are especially penetrating. The remainder of the book is primarily on the situation of Great Britain as affected by the German expansion, with a critical examination of British foreign policy and suggestions as to the lines of a possible settlement. In varying degrees the same calmer note appears in many other books on the same period. To English and American journalists we are indebted for accounts of all or some of these years. F. T. Birchall's *The Storm Breaks* is written in wisdom and may be read with interest. There are lighter scenes interspersed, but in the main it is an account of European politics from 1932 to the outbreak of war. The theme is the weakening of democracy, its several concessions, and final stand. The author writes with balanced judgment, as may be seen, for example, in the account of Munich. While Mr. Birchall wrote his book after the event, R. G. Swing's *How War Came* is a series of broadcasts from March 9 to September 3, 1939. Here the progress toward war may be seen through the eyes of a contemporary observer. The general impression is of a condemnation of German policy. Some of the deductions have been proved false, but the picture as a whole needs little alteration. George Glasgow, writing in the winter of 1939, regretted the necessity of attempting to make *Peace with Gangsters*, but regarded it as worth trying as an alternative to war. In analysing international relations from 1919 he finds many false moves, but on the whole supports Chamberlain's policy of appeasement in a choice of evils. Michael Burn's *Labyrinth of Europe* was written at about the same time and comes to a similar conclusion. The various great powers are studied, Russia receiving special attention. The author adopts a cautious attitude toward Soviet foreign policy, and particularly that at the time of Munich. Other points of view on British policy have found less moderate advocates. Carlo Scarfoglio, in *England and the Continent*, writes on British policy over a long period with a confident sense of ultimate knowledge. The old story of English hypocrisy loses its force from a display of temper and a series of *obiter dicta*. Rushton Coulborn's lecture, in the series given under the Harris Foundation by Edouard Beneš and others, entitled *International Security*, is a more serious criticism of British policy since 1919 as inept and lifeless. Alexander Werth, in *France and Munich*, approaches that unhappy settlement from the unusual point of view of French, even more than English, weakness. A firm stand, he thought, could have been taken, and supports his thesis by quotations from French newspapers. Edgar Stern-Rubarth, a German liberal, also a journalist, writes in *Three Men Tried* of the political crisis after 1919 with emphasis on the plans for Germany's return to the concert of Europe. As an admirer and associate of Stresemann he sees the picture largely through his eyes, but without adding any fresh information or interpretation.

II

In addition to the more general books there have been many studies of individual countries. In these Germany takes the centre of the stage. The rise and character of National Socialism have been treated by a number of writers. J. C. de Wilde's pamphlet, *Building the Third Reich*, is a good brief introduction to the

subject. Konrad Heiden, who has written larger histories of Hitler and National Socialism, gives in *One Man against Europe*, a shorter account of both, up to the annexation of Austria. The author is an opponent of the régime. F. Borkenau's *The New German Empire* is also a short book. It contains some account of the rise of National Socialism, and then concentrates on an analysis of the German position and aims in Europe, Africa, and South America. It is a sensible and clear account, completed in the spring of 1939. *Unfinished Victory* by Arthur Bryant is a grim account of the factors that gave rise to National Socialism: starvation during and after the war, the Treaty of Versailles, the invasion of the Ruhr, inflation, and the decay of private morals. Running through the book is an indictment of the policy of the Allies for their part in creating or failing to arrest the revolt against the republic. Hermann Rauschning, a former Nazi leader, examines the movement to which he belonged in *The Revolution of Nihilism*. The author's special knowledge of the régime is used not for "revelations" in the cheap sense but to portray an understanding of its meaning as he sees it. The official Nazi philosophy, he argues, is superficial propaganda for the masses. The movement is really in the hands of an "élite," who are using it for their own purposes. It is, or has become, revolution for its own sake, and can lead only to national self-destruction. The re-birth of the state can be achieved only by the army and the conservatives—the groups which were deceived into supporting National Socialism. The same author's *Hitler Speaks* is a documentary appendix to his analysis of National Socialism. He publishes here, from contemporary notes, records of conversations with Hitler in 1932-4. There is much of interest on both domestic and foreign policy. On the former are remarks by Hitler on his interpretation of his socialism, and of the relation of that to Marxism. On foreign policy are a host of suggestions of his plans for the future place of Germany, and how other powers—great and small—were to fit into the pattern of the new Europe. *Hitler's Germany*, by Karl Loewenstein, is an informative little book on the mechanism of German government and institutions. The author has no liking for National Socialism, but he does give factual material, partly by citing the actual laws, on the working of central and state governments, economic organization, the churches, education, and the relation of the individual to the state. Heinrich Hauser, in *Battle against Time*, describes some of the changes in the German economy since 1933. The greater part of the work is on the progress in agriculture and industry, showing both the methods of reorganization and the degree of increased production. Since the purpose of the book is to examine the present strength of Germany, there are added chapters on the army and other aspects of German domestic affairs, but these are of less value than those on the main theme. Some of the "Oxford Pamphlets on World Affairs" have clear accounts of aspects of Germany, particularly *Encirclement* by J. L. Brierly, "Race" in Europe by Julian Huxley, *Who Hitler Is* and *Herr Hitler's Self-disclosure in "Mein Kampf"* by R. C. K. Ensor, *The Nazi Conception of Law* by J. W. Jones, and *National Socialism and Christianity* by N. Micklem.

For other European countries the tale of books is less long. Malcolm Bullock's *Austria, 1918-1938* covers the whole history of the republic from the collapse of the Dual Monarchy to the conquest of Germany. It is a narrative that makes good reading, but is weak in analysis both of the internal situation of the country and of its relation to European politics as a whole. Boris Souvarine's *Stalin* is better described by its secondary title, *A Critical Survey of Bolshevism*. The author was a founder of the French Communist party and sees the history of Bolshevism as a steady departure from communist principles. Quarrels between factions in

the Russian party led to the gradual increase in the power of Stalin, who, after the death of Lenin, established himself as a dictator. There is little of value on foreign policy in the book, but much of interest on domestic affairs. On Russia's neighbour, Poland, four studies were written shortly before the war. Two of them, R. L. Buell's *Poland* and W. J. Rose's *Poland*, begin with sketches of the history of the country and then are chiefly devoted to descriptions of Poland as it was on the eve of the present war. Both analyse population problems, the industrial and agricultural position, and to some extent foreign policy. The third book, *The Polish Tradition* by Paul Super, is complementary to the other two. In it the author discusses Polish life from the sixteenth century to the present with respect to the ideas, traditions, and social behaviour of the various classes of the nation. George Slocombe's *History of Poland*, outlining the history of the country from the earliest times, has space for only a brief sketch of the period during and since the War of 1914.

The study of *South-eastern Europe* made by the Royal Institute of International Affairs contains an account of the domestic politics and foreign policy of each state in that area from 1919 to April, 1939, followed by an excellent sketch of the economics, trade, and finance of the same states. Godfrey Lias's *Benes of Czechoslovakia* is a pleasantly written biography containing an account of the rise of the Czech state and its fortunes up to the tragedy of Munich. The book is based principally on the ordinary printed materials and brings no revelations. In *Undeclared War* Miss Elizabeth Wiskemann examines the states of south-eastern Europe from the point of view of the growth of German influence there. In each state the conditions were different, depending on its geographical situation, the size of the German minority, and the strength of parties resembling the National Socialist party. While the German technique of propaganda and of economic and political pressure was similar in each state, it met with different degrees of success according to local conditions.

A few books have recently appeared on other parts of Europe. In a series edited by E. H. Carr entitled "Ambassadors at Large" two volumes have been published: *France* by Wladimir D'Ormesson and *Italy* by Camillio Pellizzi. Each volume is intended to present the foreign policy of a country. The authors explain, interpret, and defend the foreign policies of their countries since the War of 1914. They are almost entirely uncritical, but the exposition of a point of view is useful. G. T. Garratt's *Gibraltar and the Mediterranean* is a history of Gibraltar during the whole period of British occupation. On the whole it is a readable and scholarly account, but the last section, covering the years since 1919, is given over too much to the author's views on European politics as a whole, at the expense of the detailed account of the fortress so admirably carried through the previous periods. British foreign policy may be studied in the collected speeches of Neville Chamberlain, Winston Churchill, and Anthony Eden. The new edition of J. H. Jackson's *Finland* has a brief epilogue on the Russian invasion. The body of the book includes a detached and lucid account of the history of Finland from the critical period of civil war and the foundation of the republic, and through the reorganization of the following years up to the present war. The complicated issues of political, economic, and racial differences are well analysed, as is the position of the country *vis-à-vis* her neighbours.

The magnitude of European events has tended to overshadow developments in the Far East, and the writings on the latter do little to restore the balance. John Gunther's *Inside Asia* is more a series of studies than a single work with any central

theme. It touches Japan, China, the Philippines, Singapore, Siam, and India, as well as the Near East. The individual studies are also loosely knit, with much on personalities, and a good proportion of information. Like Gunther's book, Haldore Hanson's *Humane Endeavour* is more reporting than analysis. It is described as the story of the China war, but is actually a series of impressions, interlarded with explanations of various aspects of Far Eastern affairs. Probably the most interesting part will be that on the method and practice of guerilla warfare, which the author saw at first hand. In a more sober and less discursive vein are two studies issued by the Royal Institute of International Affairs: *China and Japan*, and *British Far Eastern Policy*. The former is a brief and factual, but readable, account of the political and economic condition of each country, together with their relations with each other, particularly in the period since 1931. The second pamphlet is a reasonably detached historical sketch, with an account of British policy in the East related to general British policy and interests.

The United States, with an increasing interest in European affairs, has never taken its eyes off the Far East. The volume for 1938 of *The United States in World Affairs*, edited by W. H. Shepardson and W. O. Scroggs, examines American interest or action in both areas, as well as in Mexico, Canada, and Latin America. The first part, on Europe, traces the development of the European situation and analyses the effect of Munich on the United States. The remainder of the book lays more stress on American policy—in rearmament, neutrality, trade, and toward individual countries. Evarts Scudder's *The Monroe Doctrine and World Peace* sketches the origin and history of the doctrine, leading up to a discussion of the possibility of isolation in the world as it was just before the present war. There is no mention of Canada in the book.

III

Books directly on Canadian foreign relations have been few in number during the past year. The volume of *Proceedings of the Conference on Canadian-American Affairs*, edited by A. B. Corey, R. G. Trotter, and W. W. McLaren, contains a number of papers and records of discussions of the meeting in June, 1939, on questions of common interest to the two countries. There are some sections on Canadian-American relations as such, but the chief attention was on factors in common in respect of relations with Europe and the Far East. Such subjects as trade, tariffs, fiscal control, foreign policy, and defence were discussed. Watson Kirkconnell's *Canada, Europe and Hitler* is divided into two parts. The first, "Europe Faces Hitler," is chiefly a vigorous denunciation of some of the principles and practices of National Socialism. The second part, "Canada Faces Hitler," is loosely—rather too loosely—linked to the first, and seeks to show the reactions of various Canadian racial groups to Hitlerism. The chapter on Anglo-Saxon and French Canada is out of proportion to its importance and too short (nine pages) to be more than a general statement. The peculiar contribution of the book is a portrayal of the opinions of Canadians of European origin, as seen through their newspapers. Most of the quotations are from issues of the first half of 1939, so that any effects of the war can only be indicated by the author. The general deduction that a reader would make is that the majority of European Canadians had little or no sympathy for Hitlerism, but that the minority support was of possible significance. In an article in *Foreign Affairs* on "The Prairie Provinces and Canadian Foreign Policy," G. V. Ferguson explained that the conditions of the West, especially the emphasis on wheat, affected the attitude of the prairie toward foreign policy. E. P.

Dean's article, "Canada at War," also in *Foreign Affairs*, is a clear account of Canada's entrance into the war, the political situation and opinions, and Canada's war preparations—military and industrial. Two short articles in the March number of the *Round Table* will be sufficiently explained by their titles: "Canadian Unity and the War," and "Canada's War Effort." Civil liberties in Canada in time of peace, and the regulations since the outbreak of war, are explained by R. S. Lambert in *This Freedom*, one of the series of pamphlets published by the Canadian Association for Adult Education. In one of the Oxford pamphlets, *Canada and United States Neutrality*, B. K. Sandwell discusses the political and military position of Canada vis-à-vis the United States in time of war, and incidentally the relationship of Canada and Great Britain. Policy since the outbreak of war may be studied from the parliamentary debates in the session beginning on September 7. On September 8, in the debate on the address, Mr. Manion and Mr. Mackenzie King both spoke, the latter outlining the policy of the government. Mr. Woods-worth's speech on the same day expressed a different point of view. The January session was too short to allow for any discussion of policy.

IV

In addition to the bibliography on particular countries and areas certain special topics have received attention. Two books may be noted on economic questions. Eugene Staley, in *World Economy in Transition*, writes on the relation between technological changes and political controls. He shows how the conquest of distance has promoted international trade and world economic integration, and how political nationalism has restricted that development. The increase of state control of economic life has reached its height in totalitarian states, and war acts as a further restriction on the economic growth that promotes a higher standard of living. It is a scholarly book, covering issues that will be pertinent both in the war and after it. Guenter Reimann's *The Vampire Economy* approaches the same subject from a different angle. It is a study of the methods of a totalitarian state in controlling production, finance, internal and foreign trade, and of the position of private business under this system. The argument is well documented with letters and cases, most of which are drawn from Germany. The author emphasizes the helpless position of the private firm in relation to government and the dominating party, and gives a number of instances to show how National Socialist officials have taken advantage of their positions to profit by means of concealed blackmail. *Economic Self-sufficiency*, an "Oxford Pamphlet" by A. G. B. Fisher, is a brief account of the origin and practice of autarky.

The question of colonies involves both economics and politics. The field may first be surveyed with the aid of two brief and factual books. In *Europe Overseas*, S. J. B. Whybrow and H. E. Edwards give a short description, historical and analytical, of various colonies and dominions in all parts of the world. G. H. T. Kimble's *World's Open Spaces* surveys the possible areas for immigration, bearing in mind the character of the immigrants and the conditions prevailing in each area. There are a number of references to Canada, for example to the Peace River block as exemplifying pioneer life. A pamphlet published by the Royal Institute of International Affairs, *Germany's Claim to Colonies*, leads on to the controversial aspect of the subject. The rise of German demands is shown, with the arguments of economic need and national honour. The reaction to those claims, particularly in Great Britain, is described; and possible plans of re-division are discussed. Writing also on *The German Colonial Claim*, L. S. Amery criticizes Germany's

treatment of the natives in her former colonies, refutes her moral right to a return of colonies, and denies that the possession of colonies would cure the economic problems of Germany. The author realizes, however, that the issue cannot be left at that point; and he proposes economic co-operation of European nations, as a whole or by groups. Such integration, he holds, would meet the economic grievances of Germany. Writing in *Foreign Affairs* on "Germany's Colonial Claims: A South African View," J. H. Hofmeyr states that not only is South Africa opposed to the return of South-west Africa, but is concerned about the future of the other African colonies which were formerly German.

Two studies in international law, written of the period before the war, have also a bearing on present problems. In *Neo-neutrality* a Danish writer, Georg Cohn, traces the history of the idea of neutrality and the effect upon it of the League of Nations. He objects to the suggestion that war is between right and wrong, making neutrals into outcasts. "Neo-neutrality" is intended to be active as well as passive. The neutral should follow the principles of international law but also work actively for peace, even to the possible adoption of economic sanctions. N. J. Padelford's *International Law and Diplomacy in the Spanish Civil Strife* is a detailed, scholarly, and to some extent technical, study of the Spanish civil war in its relation to international law. About two-thirds of the volume consists of appendices of documents, and these alone will form a valuable source. The subjects chiefly covered, both in the text and appendices, are the status of the parties, shipping, non-intervention, and the position of the League of Nations.

V

For a study of the causes and issues of the present war both monographs and documents are available. Asking the question *For What Do We Fight?* Sir Norman Angell replied that it is for fundamental issues: freedom of the individual and common resistance to violence. While recognizing the mistakes made by both countries after 1919, the author believes that France and Britain are now fighting for more than their own interests; and that a solution of the issue can only be reached, after victory, by the establishment of effective machinery for collective security. Harold Nicolson, in a light style but serious mood, traces in *Why Britain Is at War*, the rise of Hitler, his ideas and his conquests. From this he deduces that the aims of the war are the destruction of that aggressive philosophy, followed by the building of a better world. Writing as a spokesman of the British Labour Movement, Arthur Greenwood's answer to *Why We Fight* does not differ in any essentials from that of either of the two previous authors. Labour loves freedom even above peace, and the history of National Socialism shows that it is a menace to national and international freedom. The further object of the war is to reorganize the relations between states so that peace and social justice may progress.

The *British Blue Book* and the *French Yellow Book* on the origins of the war merit a fuller analysis than is possible in this survey. Their value lies in the diplomatic dispatches which they contain. For the historian they are both incomplete; neither has any material on the negotiations leading to the Munich agreement; neither has anything on negotiations with Russia in 1939. Apart from these and other omissions, both collections form at once an essential quarry for the serious student and a vivid picture—more vivid than any secondary account can provide—of the road to war. The French volume has more dispatches of 1938; while the *Blue Book*—apart from public speeches—begins with May, 1939. Both collections cover in some detail the development of the Polish situation and the negotiations

immediately preceding the outbreak of war. Sir Nevile Henderson's final report was issued as a *British White Paper*, and this retrospect, written in London after his return, analyses the situation in Germany and rehearses the negotiations in which he took part. In September the Canadian government published some *Documents relating to the Outbreak of War*. All these printed here are to be found in the *Blue Book* with the exception of the telegrams of August 25 from the Prime Minister of Canada to the chiefs of the governments of Poland, Italy, and Germany, urging a peaceful settlement. A volume of official documents on *The Development of Finnish-Soviet Relations*, published by the Finnish government, contains the notes and memoranda which passed between the two governments, leading up to the Russian invasion. The demands of the Soviet government and the Finnish replies come out clearly.

VI

The bibliography on the conduct of the war may roughly be classified under two heads: (1) discussions of the methods of waging war and of the strength of the belligerents; (2) histories of the actual progress of the war. Under the first head Liddell Hart's *The Defence of Britain* represents the views of a foremost writer on strategy. He argues that in modern warfare the defensive has such advantages that the offensive must have at least a three-to-one superiority to have any hope of success. England's victories in the past have been won by defensive tactics, except in 1914-18, which was a costly aberration. England's aim in war, therefore, should be to convince an enemy that he cannot conquer. In one of the "Oxford Pamphlets," Admiral Sir Herbert Richmond outlines *The Naval Role in Modern Warfare*. Count Pückler's *How Strong is Britain?*, written shortly before the war and translated from the German, is an interesting analysis of British strength and weakness in industry and the defence forces. He arrives at the conclusion that Britain's economic power was, in 1939, almost as great as in 1914, but declining because of world conditions. The estimates of military strength are now necessarily out of date. In *Military Strength of the Powers*, an author writing under the pseudonym of "Max Werner" brings forward some interesting information. The main point of the book (which was written before the war) is the emphasis on the strong arms and air force of Russia, supported, the author holds, by adequate economic resources. Paul Einzig's *Economic Warfare*, is a study of the economic strength of the belligerents, written in what seem to be unnecessarily simplified terms. He argues that the Allies will win the war because it will be prolonged, and in such a war they will have economic and financial superiority over Germany. Several of the "Oxford Pamphlets" deal with the same general subject. Sir William Beveridge's *Blockade and the Civilian Population*, which estimates the effect of the present blockade on Germany, may be prefaced by W. Arnold-Forster's *Blockade, 1914-1919*. L. P. Thompson, in *Can Germany Stand the Strain?*, concludes that in a long war the blockade will strangle her. In *The Sinews of War* Geoffrey Crowther compares the resources in man-power and materials available to the two groups of belligerents. *Handbook of the War*, written by J. C. de Wilde and others after the outbreak, covers a wide range: causes; conduct of war by land, sea, and air; merchant shipping; economic and financial aspects; and propaganda. It is a useful survey, well supplied with diagrams. Little material bearing directly on Canadian strength and potential strength is so far available. The latest *Report of the Department of National Defence* describes in some detail the position of the forces in the spring of 1939. One recent and very important development was described

in a broadcast by the Prime Minister and printed under the title, *The British Commonwealth Air Training Plan*. The most comprehensive analysis of the Canadian position as it was before the outbreak, and as altered after the outbreak, of the war, is C. P. Stacey's *Canada and the Second World War* ("Oxford Pamphlet," no. C5). The steps taken to expand the armed forces and organize industrial development for war purposes are described.

Three periodical histories of the war may all be recommended to Canadian readers. Of Stephen King-Hall's *History of the War* three bound volumes have already appeared. The first volume, on the causes of the war, traces the familiar ground of the growing threats from National Socialist Germany, the conquests, and the attack on Poland. In the next two volumes there are sections on the internal conditions in some of the belligerent countries, on military operations, and on diplomacy. The narrative so far extends to the end of November. *The Oxford Periodical History of the War* is written by a Canadian, Edgar McInnis, who combines an easy style with a power of analysis. He also flings a wide net in his history of the war. The first instalment is on the background and origin, the second on the war from September to December, and the third up to the end of March. Subsequent issues will be published quarterly. Military, naval and air developments, economic questions, and the main trends of diplomacy are treated in each number. A third periodical history of the war is appearing in the *University of Toronto Quarterly*. In the January number C. P. Stacey, also a Canadian, writes on "The War: The First Four Months," and in the April number on "Blockade and Counter-blockade." Though written on a smaller scale, this history also covers economics and diplomacy as well as the operations by land, sea, and air.

VII

Few publications dealing with the period since 1919 fail to stress the influence of political doctrines on international relations, and particularly the growing significance for democracies of the rise and expansionist ambitions of authoritarian states. Because of the importance of the subject a number of books have been written directly on it. Sir Alfred Zimmern's volume of documents, *Modern Political Doctrines*, offers an historical approach. The first part, on forms of government, contains selections from Burke to Hitler to illustrate the democratic and authoritarian schools. The second part is on the economic problem, with various points of view represented; the third on nationalism and racialism; and the last on "the problem of international order." Eduard Beneš's *Democracy Today and Tomorrow* opens with a somewhat pedestrian account of the rise of democracy, and then turns to an interesting analysis of why rival creeds destroyed many of the post-war democracies. The author interprets the rise and fall of the League of Nations as related to the strength and weakness of democracy, and the conflict between authoritarianism and democracy as the struggle of materialism against spiritualism. In *Leviathan and the People* R. M. MacIver explains what democracy is and what it is not. Dictatorships, whether of the left or the right, are the same in essence. The real issue is the relation of the individual to the state. He protests that dogmatic systems destroy "all the rich varieties of human experience. . . . You must choose their heaven or go to their hell." Two volumes set out to explain the rise and character of contemporary dictatorships: Diana Spearman's *Modern Dictatorship*, and a volume of essays on *Dictatorship in the Modern World*, edited by G. S. Ford. Both books are uneven—the second because of its composite

authorship, and the first because it is weak on some aspects of the subject. Both, however, are informative on the history of the various dictatorships, and at times illuminating in interpretation. Neither offers a satisfactory definition of dictatorship—and perhaps no such definition can be made. One aspect of the general subject which is briefly covered in the above books—authoritarian influences on democracies—is the main theme of an interesting study by Stephen Raushenbush of *The March of Fascism*. The author examines the growth of fascism in Italy, Germany, and other countries in order to determine the conditions which give rise to it, and comes to the general conclusion that it succeeds when the previous régime has failed to supply popular needs or desires. Turning to the United States he finds certain similarities to the state of affairs existing in European countries on the eve of fascism. The defence against fascism, then, must not be by force alone but by a democratic government offering more to its people than a dictatorship can do.

Never before has there been such widespread interest in the organization of the world after the war, an interest which was roused before the outbreak of hostilities and has since steadily increased. There has never, however, been a time in modern history in which some study was not given to the reform of international relations. A sketch of the history of plans intended to produce peace by such reform will be found in Sir John Marriott's *Commonwealth or Anarchy?*. From Henry IV's Grand Design to the League of Nations a common thread can be traced. The best known and most influential book on the contemporary problem is C. K. Streit's *Union Now*. The author discards any half measures of patching the Covenant and advocates a federal union of the Atlantic democracies. He suggests tentatively that the union should have a constitution similar to that of the United States. In *The Case for Federal Union* W. B. Curry accepts the Streit thesis, and argues in its favour in a book that is shorter and more palatable to the general reader. So far no study has appeared of this subject from the Canadian point of view, but in *Federation and World Order* by Duncan and Elizabeth Wilson there is an examination of existing federations by a believer in a federation of the world. Canada is one of the countries examined, not entirely accurately, as a case in point.

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- PADEFORD, NORMAN J. *International law and diplomacy in the Spanish civil strife.* New York: Macmillan Co. 1939. Pp. xxx, 710. (\$6.75)
- PELLIZZI, CAMILLO. *Italy.* (Ambassadors at large; General editor, E. H. CARR.) London, New York, Toronto: Longmans, Green and Co. 1939. Pp. 224. (\$2.00)
- The Permanent Court of International Justice at The Hague.* (Issued by the Registry of the Court.) Leiden, Holland: A. W. Sijhoff's Publishing Co. 1939. Pp. 137. A brief account of the origin and organization, with a summary of each judgment and opinion.

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- SHEPARDSON, WHITNEY H. and SCROGGS, WILLIAM O. *The United States in world affairs: An account of American foreign relations, 1938.* New York: Harper and Bros. 1939. Pp. 436. (\$3.00)
- SHOTWELL, JAMES T. *What Germany forgot.* New York: Macmillan Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1940. Pp. viii, 152. (\$1.50)
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- SLOCOMBE, GEORGE. *A history of Poland.* Rev. and enlarged ed. London, Toronto, New York: Thomas Nelson. 1939. Pp. 375. (\$3.50)
- South-eastern Europe: A political and economic survey.* Prepared by the Information Department of the Royal Institute of International Affairs, in collaboration with the London and Cambridge Economic Service. London: Royal Institute of International Affairs; Oxford University Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 203. (5s.)
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- SOWARD, F. H. *Moulders of national destinies.* London, Toronto, New York: Oxford University Press. Rev. ed. 1939. Pp. x, 248. (\$1.50)
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- SPIVAK, JOHN L. *Secret armies: The new technique of Nazi warfare.* New York: Modern Age Books. 1939. Pp. 160. (65c.) An account of Nazi spies in Europe and America, which is highly sensational and incompletely documented.
- STACEY, C. P. *As the storm broke* (University of Toronto quarterly, IX (1), Oct., 1939, 1-8).
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- STREIT, CLARENCE K. *Union now.* London: Jonathan Cape. 1939. Pp. 414. (\$3.00)
- SUPER, PAUL. *The Polish tradition: An interpretation of a nation.* London: George Allen & Unwin. [Toronto: Thomas Nelson]. 1939. Pp. xvi, 215. (\$2.25)
- SWING, RAYMOND GRAM. *How war came.* New York: W. W. Norton & Co. 1939. Pp. 266. (\$2.50)
- WALLACE, MALCOLM W. *Canada and the United States.* (Delivered at the thirty-third annual convention of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents at New York, Dec. 14, 1939.) New York: Association of Life Insurance Presidents. 1939. Pp. 11.
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- WERTH, ALEXANDER. *France and Munich: Before and after surrender.* London: Hamish Hamilton [Toronto: Musson Book Co.]. 1939. Pp. 447. (\$4.00)
- WHYBROW, S. J. B. and EDWARDS, H. E. *Europe overseas: A survey of modern empires.* London [Toronto]: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1939. Pp. xii, 180. (\$1.75)
- WILSON, DUNCAN and ELIZABETH. *Federation and world order.* London, New York, Toronto: Thomas Nelson. 1939. Pp. 184. (\$1.00)
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- WISKEmann, ELIZABETH. *Undeclared war.* London: Constable & Co. [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1939. Pp. x, 332. (\$3.75)
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RECENT BOOKS ON ARCTIC EXPLORATION AND THE CANADIAN NORTHLAND¹

In the various surveys of literature on the Arctic appearing in the REVIEW over the last decade none has been able to draw on so much solid work as this. The consolidation of the exciting work which has marked the adventures of the last few years is well in hand. The thorough work by Taracouzio, *Soviets in the Arctic* (reviewed C.H.R., XX, 48) has been extended in Louis Segal's *The Conquest of the Arctic* which not only describes the chief features of the scientific work of the Russians in the Arctic but also traces the history of Arctic exploration and the work of various nations. There is a brief account of the expedition of the *Chelyuskin* of which a detailed description was given in *The Voyage of the Chelyuskin* (reviewed C.H.R., XVII, 435) and also of the effective work of Papanin and three others who drifted on a polar ice floe from the North Pole beginning May 21, 1937, to the east coast of Greenland where they were picked up on February 19, 1938. The use of aeroplanes in the establishment of the camp and of the radio in describing the location of the camp to the outside world made possible an unprecedented achievement. They confirmed the general finding that there is no land in the region of the North Pole, discovered that the warm Atlantic waters penetrated the Arctic Ocean at various depths, and supported Stefansson's thesis that animal and plant life were to be found in the central polar region (p. 164). Mr. Segal also gives a very brief account of the Canadian Arctic, Alaska, Greenland, Iceland, and Spitsbergen and of the Eskimo in the American Arctic and the natives of the Russian Arctic with notes on the amazing economic development in the latter region. A final section describes the place of aviation in the work of discovery and the contributions of Russians who flew across the polar region from Russia to North America. The appendix gives a chronology of Arctic voyages, and the whole is made accessible by photographs, maps, and a detailed index. The first ninety pages cover the history of Arctic exploration and are less satisfactory. The date of Cabot's first voyage is given as 1496 rather than 1497. Guillam is spelled Gillan (p. 38), and there is no mention of the voyage to Hudson Bay immediately preceding the formation of the Hudson's Bay Company in 1670. The North West Company is the North-Western Company (p. 38). Throughout there is a suggestion of haste, but the volume is a most useful, readable compendium on the Arctic.

Arctic and Antarctic: The Technique of Polar Travel by Colin Bertram is chiefly devoted to "the physical principles that underlie life and travel in the cold regions of the earth, together with the way in which these determine the equipment that is needed." There are chapters on clothing, tents and camping, polar animals, food, dogs and men as haulage animals (in which a strong case is made for dogs) and transport. The principles outlined afford a most useful guide to a discussion of the problems with which numerous expeditions have been faced. There are numerous illustrations, photographs, and reproductions. The book is a valuable account of the slow development of technique in the progress of exploration of the Arctic and the Antarctic. The volume *Modern Arctic Exploration* by Gunnar Seidenfaden, although not as important as Peter Freuchen, who writes the preface, would have us believe, should be read after that of Mr. Bertram. It is chiefly

¹For earlier reviews of books on the Canadian north, see CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW, September, 1934; June, December, 1935; June, December, 1936; June, 1938; March, 1939. For the list of books reviewed in the present article, see p. 205.

concerned with the Arctic rather than the Antarctic and with the latest phases of exploration. Its object is "to describe something of the revolution which has taken place in the manner of investigation during the past twenty-five years" (p. 18). He gives a brief history of polar exploration as "primarily the history of great names," and, after the beginning of the nineteenth century, as one of national interests in which the name of Edward Parry is the most illustrious, and which ends with the tragedy of the Franklin expedition. This period was followed by an emphasis on scientific expeditions with Nordenskiold and Nansen and Peary as the outstanding figures. Parry introduced the sledge, and widened the range of exploration; later, stations were established to be visited by steamships; and finally Peary, and one might mention Stefansson, lived with the Eskimo and adapted their techniques. The modern post-war period is characterized by the use of capital and equipment, to mention the icebreaker, the aeroplane, the radio, the camera, and the fathometer. The expedition demands "meticulous planning and preparation." Finally, separate administrations emerge as in the case of Russia. There is an impressive chapter on the improvements in the technique of map-making, followed by chapters on the significance of advances in technical methods for geological, biological and marine research, as well as for anthropological investigation with special relation to the Eskimo. A chapter on polar voyages in recent times describes briefly the work of Amundsen and Ellsworth, Byrd, Sir Hubert Wilkins, Nobile, the Russians in their flights to North America and on the polar ice, Wegener and Koch. There are interesting reproductions and a valuable map. *The Cold Lands* by J. M. Scott is a sort of primer on the Arctic and the Antarctic illustrated by excellent photographs. The following extract will suffice: "Nowadays most Eskimos are Christians but in the past a man kept as many wives as he could support with food and as he needed to sew the skins."

According to the jacket Mr. Bertram accompanied the *Pourquoi Pas?* under Dr. J. B. Charcot to Greenland in 1933. The vessel took an active part in the work of French scientific expeditions in the years prior to 1936 when she was lost with all hands. *My Eskimo Life* by Paul-Emile Victor has in the appendix a valuable summary of expeditions covering the work of the French expedition to the east coast of Greenland in 1934-5; of the French trans-Greenland expedition in 1936, and of the Paul-Emile Victor expedition to the east coast of Greenland in 1936-7. The book is concerned with the latter expedition and is in the form of a diary from August 11, 1936, to February 15, 1937, describing life with the Eskimo at Angmagssalik, a small surviving group on the desolate east coast dependent for supplies of wood on drift from Siberia. There are excellent photographs, drawings, and useful foot-notes. Since the expedition was chiefly concerned with ethnography the book is valuable for the anthropologist. It is a delightful volume. The details of Eskimo life are recorded in the fullest manner and give an amazing insight into the character of these charming people. There are useful maps and full biographical material on the Eskimos and the dogs. From the entertaining account of Christmas the following may be quoted. After the distribution of presents, "What! aren't you going to kiss me?" "Oh no," he replied, "You don't smell nice. You've got the Kratouna (white man) smell." "No, no, it isn't true," Dumidia protested. "He hasn't smelt like that for a long time."

Greenland Journey is a series of accounts of members of the German expedition to Greenland in 1930-1 edited by Else Wegener, the wife of the leader of the expedition who lost his life. Wegener planned to establish a station in the middle of the Greenland ice field by using the ice as a house. The importance of large bodies

of ice in Greenland and the Antarctic to climatic disturbances was emphasized by Professor Hobbs of the University of Michigan and an attempt was made to throw further light on this and other problems. The expedition was a result of the efforts of Germany to recapture her position in the work of scientific exploration after the last war and to continue work which had begun before it. Iceland ponies were used to haul enormous quantities of goods to the top of the ice plateau and motor sledges to haul goods to Eismitte, 250 miles inland. On September 18 Wegener wrote: "My fears have been realized. . . . The whole business is a big catastrophe and there is no use in concealing the fact." He proceeded to Eismitte but on the return trip both Wegener and Rasmus, a Greenlander, were lost. In spite of the death of the leader notable achievements were carried out at the various stations established, and the general depth and character of the ice sheet and of the land forms of Greenland were determined. There are several maps, diagrams, and photographs but no index.

Sir John Franklin's Last Arctic Expedition by Richard J. Cyriax is a contribution to the history of Arctic exploration of first importance. The reprint by Mr. Gibson (reviewed C.H.R., XIX, 192), who knew the region at first hand, is complemented by a volume in which the author has made an intensive study of the documentary material. It includes a section on the history of exploration in the search for the Northwest Passage and the objective, personnel, equipment, and instructions of Sir John Franklin; a section on the unsuccessful and the successful search for the Franklin expedition; and an attempt to reconstruct the history of the disaster from a careful study of all the available evidence. He concludes that the men died of scurvy. Captain Crozier succeeded to the command on Sir John Franklin's death on June 11, 1847. The ships were abandoned on April 22, 1848, with 105 men and officers, 24 having died. It seems probable that a major mistake was made, possibly as a result of Crozier's lack of experience in starting for Back's River rather than Hudson Bay. He suggests, following Major Burwash, that one of the ships passed through Simpson Strait (p. 187) but Mr. Gibson has dealt adequately with this possibility. The whole is an exhaustive and important study.

Tragedy in the Arctic and Antarctic is a never-failing source of interest since these regions subject equipment, organization, and men to the severest possible tests. The tragedy of the *Jeannette* (reviewed C.H.R., XIX, 193), appears to have been a result of divided command—as was the tragedy of the *Karluk* under Captain Bartlett. Amundsen carried out a brilliant programme in his voyage through the Northwest Passage and his dash to the South Pole through insistence on a single command. Scott appears to have lost as a result of a prejudice against dogs and the decision to take five men rather than four to the Pole. Wegener may have been defeated by limitations due to the weakness of Germany as a result of the last war and the beginning of the depression. Time becomes a crucial factor—the lateness of the season was important to both Scott and Wegener. The age, vitality, and judgment of the commander become vital considerations as in the case of Franklin and probably of Wegener and of Hornby. Judgment is vital as the tragedy of Hornby and the success of Sir Hubert Wilkins show. Defective machinery apparently caused the death of Levanevsky in the last effort of the Russians to cross the polar Arctic. The limitations of the motor sledges hampered Wegener. The tragedy of Wrangell Island was partly a result of inexperience. Explorers who have been accustomed to severe northern conditions have a great advantage, to mention Nansen, Amundsen, Nordenskiöld, and Stefansson. Modern machinery assumes planning and precision such as only an extensively developed

industrial nation can supply. Success is a test of a nation as well as of the men who represent it.

In comparison with the published work on the activities of European countries in the Arctic, the work on the Canadian Arctic is slight. David Haig-Thomas in *Tracks in the Snow* describes an expedition in 1937-8 across Ellesmere Land to Axel Heiberg, Cornwall Island, and Amund Ringnes Island, in which he discovered a small new island following his work as ornithologist on the Shackleton Ellesmere Land Expedition (C.H.R., XIX, 193). He begins with a critical account of the achievements of that expedition and describes his efforts to improve the technique of travelling. His achievements support his analysis. There are interesting comments on the Greenland Eskimo which make the volume a useful supplement to Freuchen's books (reviewed C.H.R., XVII, 437). He comments on the scarcity of seals and in turn of bears on Amund Ringnes Island, and attributes it to the shallowness of the water. It was a peak lemming year and there are descriptions of various animals and of methods of hunting them. There is included an account of a survey by his companions Mr. J. W. Wright and Mr. R. A. Hamilton in the spring of 1938 of the Ellesmere Land coast between Cape Herschel and Makinson Inlet. There are excellent photographs but a lack of detailed maps. The author is rather critical of the Canadian government.

It is probable that more effective scientific work might be carried out by the Canadian government if the Mounted Police were more adequately trained or if arrangements were made to send scientific men with them. The two volumes by S. R. Montague, *North to Adventure* and *I Lived with the Eskimo*, illustrate the limitations of police activities. The Mounted Police are now intent, it appears, on getting their book as well as their man. With Corporal Nicholls he apparently established Port Burwell and was stationed there from 1925 to 1928. There are interesting comments on the clothing of police, the choice of two rather than three men at a station, and the training of police. He was apparently wrecked with Eskimo on Savage Island as there is a detailed account of it in both volumes as well as of a trip to Akpatok Island. There are accounts of hunting seal and caribou and trips with Eskimo. One becomes very weary of his friendship with the Eskimo. He was adopted by them and given a title, fittingly enough, "The white man who is almost an Eskimo." There is all too little definite, detailed information on his work with the aeroplane expedition sent to investigate navigation on Hudson Strait, the loss of the *Bay Eskimo*, and the wreck of the *S.S. Canadian Raider*. There must be a large market for books by police on the Arctic. The blurb on the jacket is incredible. Mr. Montague attended schools in Montreal including "Montreal High School (McGill University)." There are excellent photographs.

An account of an adventure in the treacherous waters about Cape Chidley leads one to discuss the book *Northern Lights* by Desmond Holdridge. An original account attracted the attention of Mr. Forbes prior to his expedition leading to the publication *Northernmost Labrador* (reviewed C.H.R., XX, 41). It has been rewritten and is an extended description of a voyage in a small schooner (built at Tancook, Nova Scotia, and rerigged at Chester) to Port Burwell. Three men with almost no nautical equipment sailed to Lunenburg, Halifax, by Scatari light to Atlantic Cove (St. Paul Island), Neils Cove (Cape Breton), Port aux Basques, Battle Harbour, Mary's Harbour where one of the crew was lost for several days, Cartwright, Hopedale, Davis Inlet, Nairn, Okkak, and Port Burwell. At the latter point they saw the men who had been rescued from the *Bay Eskimo* and met

Corporal Nicholls. The trip back started late in the season and after numerous incredible adventures the crew were taken off near Cape Breton and the schooner abandoned. It is a most exciting account and worthy of an important place in the literature of sailing. The description of the devastation following the influenza epidemic of 1918 among the Eskimo along the Labrador is most depressing. It may be that the author draws a long bow occasionally but it would be difficult to exaggerate the dangers of such an expedition.

No better account of the lives of the "liveres" on the Labrador has appeared than *Frost and Fire* by Elliott Merrick. The author's knowledge of the Labrador acquired through his stay there in 1930-1, described in *True North* (reviewed C.H.R., XV, 320), has been used to the full in the development of a novel based on the life of a father, son, and half-Eskimo wife. The father dies of tuberculosis and the son continues the work on the trap lines to the interior in winter and at the points along the coast where the schooners come from Newfoundland to prepare and to purchase fish in summer. The son marries and takes his wife and child to the interior for one winter and succeeds in freeing himself from dependence on the trader and setting up as a trader himself. The visit of the wife to Boston before her marriage brings out the contrast between civilization outside and inside. But the lives of the individuals are chiefly a vehicle for the meticulous description of the routine of life in the Labrador. The book should be required reading for tourists to the Newfoundland Labrador.

A pathetic contrast is the slight volume *Ports of Pine* by Alice Sharples with a foreword by Sir Wilfred Grenfell published by the Clarke Steamship Company. The boat stops at Havre, St. Pierre, Corner Brook, Bonne Bay, St. Anthony, Forteau, Battle Harbour, Harrington, Gaspé, Pictou, and Murray Bay and there are chatty comments on each place.

Literature on the activities of Canadians in the Arctic region describes developments similar to those in the Russian Arctic. *The Vanishing Frontier* by Philip Godsell is the third book by this author on the retreat of the fur trade and the penetration of mining to the north. It involves duplication with the other two volumes (reviewed C.H.R., XX, 48; XVI, 199) but has important fresh material. The book begins with the author's introduction to the Hudson's Bay Company service under Mr. Charles Sinclair at Norway House in 1908, the year in which Mr. Beech homesteaded at Fort Churchill in anticipation of the construction of the Hudson Bay Railway. He wintered at Trout Lake and further information is given on the Indians, trade, and missionaries, in that region. As an apprentice he received \$150 for his first year with the prospect of ultimately retiring as a Chief Factor at \$2,300 per year. The furs were taken out to Fort Severn. He left the fur trade to become a timekeeper on a ballast gang engaged in construction on the Grand Trunk Pacific at Edson. The work of the police in checking illicit trade in liquor is described in detail and the account is a valuable supplement to Mr. Bickersteth's *The Land of Open Doors* (Toronto, 1914). After the war he was an inspector of the Hudson's Bay Company stationed at Fort Simpson. He made trips during the winter to the outlying posts down the Mackenzie and up the Liard River. There are valuable character sketches of his friends at Fort Simpson, and everyone familiar with the Mackenzie River of the twenties will be grateful for his description of the inimitable T. H. (Flynn) Harris. There are accounts of the arrest, trial, and execution of Albert Lebeau for the murder of his wife, of the mysterious disappearance of the McLeod brothers in the Nahanni country on a prospecting expedition in 1905, of the first visit from an aeroplane of the Imperial

Oil Company and the ingenious construction of a propeller blade from toboggan boards by Walter Johnston by which the plane was able to fly out, of the work of Angus Brabant as Chief Factor and Fur Trade Commissioner in the Mackenzie River district with his unfortunate penchant for economy, of the politics which arrived with the establishment of government headquarters of the Northwest Territories at Fort Smith, of the Hornby-Bullock expedition (reviewed C.H.R., XIII, 217) and of the Hornby tragedy, of the McAlpine adventure in 1929 and the exploration activities of the period, and of the final success of Jack Stannier in locating the gold for which the McLeod brothers had searched in the Nahanni region. The author has captured more successfully in this than in his other books the feel of the north. There are numerous photographs and a map.

In *North Again for Gold*, Mr. Laytha continues the story of Mr. Godsell of the opening of the Mackenzie River district. First as guest of Eldorado mines he visited Bear Lake and second as guest of the Consolidated Mining and Smelting Company, Yellowknife on Great Slave Lake. While there is a naïveté about the book, it is a storehouse of useful information. The following quotation will suffice: "It was the white man who taught them [the Indians] to make their own whiskey out of dried fruits and tobacco juice. They drank what they made and went almost insane with the burning in their stomachs. To relieve it they jumped into the cold lakes to perish the day afterward of pneumonia" (p. 41). The book includes a valuable account of the lives of Messrs. Gilbert and Charles La Bine and of the systematic steps taken leading to the discovery of pitchblende on Great Bear Lake in 1929-30. Since sixty tons of chemicals are necessary to produce a gramme of radium from ten tons of pitchblende, arrangements were made with Mr. Pochon, a pupil of the Curies, to instal machinery for the extraction of radium in a plant at Port Hope. An ore crushing and concentration plant was built at Bear Lake and a transportation system for the handling of ore was developed from Bear Lake to McMurray, the end of steel. In 1936 to meet Belgian competition in a drop in prices to \$25,000 per gramme capital was supplied on a generous scale by Mr. Harry Snyder and enormous improvements were made with the addition of boats and barges and a five-ton freight plane. Crude oil was taken from the Imperial Oil wells at Fort Norman to the diesel engines at the mine. Production increased slowly from two grammes in 1933 to three and a half grammes in 1936. In 1937, twenty-eight grammes were produced and in 1938, seventy grammes. The end of the stampede to Bear Lake left the Eldorado Company in substantial control. At Yellowknife a mining boom developed with the discovery of gold in 1936. The account describes the numerous individuals attracted to the camp with extensive reference to their adventures. The son of Professor Alexander, formerly of the University of Alberta, was responsible for the first mimeographed newspaper, the *Prospector*. Consolidated started its first mine in 1938 and added others. There is a brief account of a second trip to Bear Lake and to Coppermine and a description of various personalities at Fort Smith including the missionaries, members of the Connibear family, the police, and the Ryan brothers who have handled the freight over the portage since 1919 and who made a substantial sum from the sale of claims at Yellowknife. The photographs are excellent and the book as a whole is a valuable account of recent mining developments, in spite of occasional imaginative lapses.

Mr. David Irwin has secured the services of another writer to describe his trip along the Western Arctic in *One Man against the North* and the book will displace the earlier work (reviewed C.H.R., XVII, 194). It is more accurate but in the

main parallels the former account. The foreword by Lowell Thomas is included in the book instead of on the jacket where it properly belongs. It has many of the earmarks of general ignorance of the north which characterize the earlier book. "A Mr. Porsild" gives him advice at Herschell Island. Flynn meets him at Good Hope—no reference to Mr. Harris. Learmonth is spelled Learmont. He still insists that he was near the magnetic pole and that he met Johnny Cotton (pps. 156, 158) in spite of the statements of those who know better. There is the same naïve egoism and disregard of the all-important assistance of those who have lived in the north long before Mr. Irwin appeared on the scene and who would regard his expedition as scarcely worth special notice to say nothing of writing two books about it.

The habit of writing the biographies of those who participated in the Klondike rush has reached its lowest ebb in *Gold Nugget Charlie: A Narrative Compiled from the Notes of Charles E. Masson*, by Frances Lloyd-Owen. It bears the marks of the inaccuracies of the *Golden Grindstone* (reviewed C.H.R., XVI, 438) but the subject is much too serious in its pretensions and the volume lacks the gusto of Mr. Graham's book. It is extremely difficult to sort out the truth though many of the errors are clear enough. There would appear to be several stories absorbed in the book. In any case, this is what he said he did. At the age of twelve in 1874 he left Baltimore and proceeded to Chicago, Fort Brule, and Deadwood Creek (see Estelline Bennett, *Old Deadwood Days*, New York, 1935, reviewed C.H.R., XVII, 233) and in the same year fought with Indians and carried mail. After life at Rapid City and Silver City he arrived at San Francisco in 1879. He shipped in a whaler but escaped at Orea Bay from whence he went overland to the mouth of Birch River on the Yukon, Circle City, and Forty Mile arriving at the latter place on April 13, 1880, where he apparently stayed until 1892. He struck rich ground at Mastodon Creek on Birch Creek in that year and went out by St. Michael in 1894. The story of going to Rabbit Creek and taking up claims with Carmaeks in 1896 seems to be made of whole cloth. He claims to have left Juneau on March 1, 1897, and arrived on the Klondike on April 1, but his account of the use of steam points is inaccurate. In 1899 he took his wife, whom he married after an exciting chase, to the Klondike by St. Michael. He bought a claim on Lower Bonanza in 1901 for \$28,000 and had trouble with labour. His wife died in 1906 and he sold his claims and bought three steamships all of which were lost, and invested heavily in a cannery which was burned. There was a radio station at Bethel in 1908 and he walked from this point to Valdez after the loss of his ship. In May, 1909, he walked from Skagway to Whitehorse when he might have gone by train. In 1909-10 he had a lay on Last Chance Creek and in 1910-11 on Engineer Creek. There are various photographs and maps.

The volume *Northern Lights to Fields of Gold* by Stanley Scearce is autobiographical in character and errors are much less obvious. The nonsense regarding the northern lights and the innumerable adventures in the chase after one of the Dawson women, including trips by dog team from Dawson to Peel River and to Nome, make one sceptical, but presumably the hot passion of youth and the fever of the gold rush explain all. The author was born in Kentucky. On December 5, 1897, he sailed on the *Alki* from Seattle to Skagway. He worked for a Minneapolis construction firm on the road from Skagway to Summit by the White Pass. Later he bought a horse and rapidly built up a freighting business. In the spring of 1898 the horses were taken to Haine's mission on the coast and driven over the Chilkat Pass by the Alsek and Nordenskiöld Rivers reaching Rink Rapids on the Yukon

River on July 1. The horses were taken down on rafts to Dawson. He secured a contract to haul 500 cords of wood from Sixty Mile River to Dawson and after this was completed he brought twenty tons of merchandise from a scow which had been caught in the ice above Dawson. Then to Stewart River where the horses were traded for dogs and from whence he joined the stampede to Thistle Creek. He returned to Dawson on May 23, 1899, and the ice went out on May 24. With a small stake of \$200, of which \$150 was won by gambling, he entered a partnership with a representative of the firm of Pat Galvin and Company. This company owned the *Yukoner* and handled a business of importing cattle and sheep for the Dawson market. Scearce bought the first scow to come down the river on May 28 and sold the produce at extremely high prices. The first steamboat from the upper river arrived on June 20. The collapse of the Pat Galvin Company is described in Curtin, *Yukon Voyage* (reviewed C.H.R., XX, 46). After the trip to Peel River in the fall of 1899 he returned to Dawson and went outside, arriving at Lake Bennett on December 27, 1899. After purchasing an outfit to be sent to Nome he returned to Dawson, leaving Seattle on the *S.S. Queen* on January 23, 1900, reaching Bennett City on January 28 and Dawson on February 12. From there he went by dog team down the Yukon to Nome. The trading venture to Nome was not a success, nor were the expeditions to Council City. He left Nome on the *South Portland* on September 2 and arrived at Seattle on September 9. Returns from an investment in Dago Hill enabled him to secure a cargo of fresh fruit and produce which he rushed across the ice on Lake Laberge and down to Dawson ahead of his competitors. In 1902 he took over the stock of a large competitor and in the winter of 1902-3 began sending in over-the-ice consignments to Dawson. In 1903 he began the purchase of produce in Ontario as a means of avoiding the tariff on American products. As a result of the low water in the fall of 1903 he managed to secure a corner on potatoes in Dawson and took over another competitor. The death of Alex MacDonald in 1904 brought still another large rival trading company to an end. He left Dawson in the year in which the *Sophia* was lost. The book is valuable as a contribution to the study of marketing, and for all I know may throw light on the wild life of Dawson—the wine, women, and gambling. There are numerous illustrations by R. H. Hall which are not altogether happy.

Mr. and Mrs. Albee in *Alaska Challenge* have written an account of a honeymoon trip in 1930-1 from Prince George in British Columbia to Summit Lake, Fort McLeod, Fort Grahame, Whitewater Post, across the Sifton Pass down the Big Muddy River to Fort Liard, up the Liard to McDame's Creek and Dease Lake and thence to Telegraph Creek and to Atlin. They stayed over the winter and left by boat on July 1, 1931, touching at Whitehorse, Dawson, Fort Eagle, Circle, Fort Yukon, Tanana, and Fairbanks. Mr. Albee went to Nome and secured employment as a school-teacher among the Eskimo at Cape Prince of Wales. There are interesting descriptions of the country through which they passed and of the activities of the Eskimo including a reindeer round-up. They returned to the United States with two children. As would be expected there are parts which are entertainingly naïve.

The volume by Mr. Andrews, *The Eskimo and His Reindeer in Alaska*, is an important contribution to an understanding of the problems which have arisen as a result of the growth of large corporations in the reindeer industry. The author spent the period from 1923 to 1929 in the School and Reindeer Service. It is not a well-written book but it contains a wide range of information and is supported by

foot-notes, a bibliography, and an index. There is a useful short history of the whole reindeer experiment. The Eskimo and the technique of the reindeer industry are described in great detail and information is given on schools, epidemics, whaling, walrus hunting, and the wrecks of various ships off the north coast of Alaska. In spite of its limitations it should do much to arouse the government of the United States to the necessity of taking steps to protect the natives.

M. S. Pilgrim's little book on *Alaska: Its History, Resources, Geography, and Government* is compendium of information illustrated by numerous photographs. It is completely dwarfed by *A Guide to Alaska* by Merle Colby of the Federal Writers Project. This is the last word on the vast region and is elaborately illustrated by maps and amazingly good photographs. Fortunately for Canada it includes the Yukon. The whole is further improved by a bibliography and an index. There are trivial printer's errors and the historical material is not uniformly satisfactory but its purpose is primarily to serve the tourist and for this it cannot be praised too highly.

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REVIEWS OF BOOKS

A Diplomatic History of the American People. By THOMAS A. BAILEY. (Crofts American History Series.) New York: F. S. Crofts & Co. 1940. Pp. xxvi, 806.

SINCE its appearance a few months ago this very valuable and interesting volume has been generally hailed by students of United States history as the best book in its field. It deserves an equally warm welcome from those who study Canadian affairs, for it has the special virtue of presenting a more complete and more accurate picture of Canadian-American relations than any of its predecessors. Professor Bailey understands the art of synthesis. The basis of his book is a remarkably thorough knowledge of the monographic literature of the subject; but it also incorporates the results of his own original researches on many topics, and the product is a book much more fresh and vital than one founded exclusively on secondary authorities could ever be. He has made a special attempt to evaluate the influence of public opinion on American foreign policies. As for the author's own opinions, they are not obtrusive, and here his work presents a striking contrast with the 800-page isolationist tract which Professor Bemis published in 1936. Mr. Bailey is not attempting to use the diplomatic history of his country to prove any special case, but his scholarly pages will nevertheless help laymen as well as students towards a sound understanding of the issues of American foreign policy past and present.

In recent years the treatment of Canadian issues by American diplomatic historians has become increasingly adequate, and the trend is admirably illustrated by this book. These matters are handled with discrimination and understanding. One example is the account of the difficulties growing out of the Rebellion of 1837. The treatment of the Alaska boundary controversy supplies another, and the list could be lengthened. Mr. Bailey does not attempt to rehearse every diplomatic exchange in detail; rather, his aim is to present to the reader in a few paragraphs the essentials of each question, and he usually does this very successfully. This reviewer felt, however, that at one point—in dealing with the Canadian-American problems of the Civil War and post-Civil War periods—he moved with less than his usual sureness, leaning perhaps rather too heavily on the least solid sections of Professor Shippee's generally excellent *Canadian-American Relations, 1849-1874*. We have yet to see an American diplomatic historian deal adequately with American policy towards filibustering as practised by the Fenians. There are also some omissions. The account of the boundary settlement of 1783 is much briefer than its importance would seem to warrant (p. 32). The aspirations of American expansionists in connection with the Canadian North-west in 1870 are not noticed. There is no mention of the *I'm Alone* case (or of any other problem arising out of prohibition), of the initiation of direct diplomatic intercourse between Ottawa and Washington, or of the International Joint Commission. There are some minor slips which can be corrected in subsequent editions, such as the reference (p. 157) to non-existent "modifications" of the Rush-Bagot Agreement. As always, however, it is an ungrateful task to enumerate the few small blemishes which minute examination reveals upon the face of a work which puts historical scholars greatly in its author's debt. Mr. Bailey's book can be recommended with the greatest confidence, not only to such scholars, but to all citizens who may desire to acquaint themselves with the background of the American policies which are of such tremendous importance in the world today.

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Here Was Vinland. By JAMES W. CURRAN. Sault Ste. Marie: *Sault Daily Star*. Pp. xiv, 359. 1939. (\$3.40)

THIS book presents the unusual views of an enthusiastic journalist regarding the location of the Vinland of the Vikings. Mr. Curran has collected a remarkable array of incidents and an imposing list of relics to support his contention that the Norsemen came to America by way of Hudson Bay, James Bay, and tributary rivers; and that, over a period of time, they explored a vast mid-continental territory embracing Ontario, Manitoba, and the states of New York, Michigan, Wisconsin, Minnesota, and North Dakota. The book makes particular reference to the Beardmore relics which were the subject of an article by Dr. C. T. Currelly in this REVIEW, March, 1939. Written in the easy style of a mellow *raconteur* Mr. Curran's book presents much unusual speculative material which may well provide impetus to further investigation. Naturally, those incidental values are stressed which lend colour to the unorthodox views of the author.

Twenty explanatory documents in part I detail those fragments of information that form the foundation of Mr. Curran's premise. Four deal with relics presumably Norse, and the remainder set forth the interpretations which he places on the Norse sagas and Indian folk-lore. Part II reprints all but three of Mr. Curran's original articles that appeared in the *Sault Daily Star* between August 13, 1938, and February 28, 1939. In these much of the material presented in part I is repeated.

While providing entertaining reading, some of the archaeological conclusions are open to question. For instance, the author claims that a copper spear (p. 87) and an adze of the same material (p. 328) were cast; and that the central ridge and flared cutting edges of these and other copper implements are attributable to Norse influence. It is very doubtful if any archaeologist would agree that these relics were cast, and that those characteristics which Mr. Curran would have us believe are evidences of Norse influence are due to anything other than the pounding of the metal during the process of fabrication.

Nor can the contention be upheld that the trade axes of iron found on historic sites in Ontario and New York State (p. 106) owe their form to Norse ideas passed on by the Indians to the French. The French imported these axes by the thousands and such axes were made in the manner customary throughout Europe at that time.

A statement on page 110 reads, "Some of the early issue [of metal tomahawks] to the Hurons up to 1649 seen by the writer actually had iron tobacco pipe bowls or other objects on the head." Is it possible that Mr. Curran is confusing these tomahawks with the tomahawks issued by the British to the successors of the Hurons, the Mississaugas and Neutrals, in the late seventeenth and the early eighteenth centuries? Records do not show that iron or steel pipe tomahawks were issued to the Hurons by the French in the seventeenth century.

In the discussion of the Brantford bronze implement (p. 328) Mr. Curran twice infers that it was found on one and the same site as the aboriginal material associated with it. However, Mr. M. R. Harrington who acquired this relic does not claim that the object was thus found.

With reference to the Beardmore relics the contradictory nature of the affidavits in the Dodd case (p. 174) tends to weaken Mr. Curran's stand. Mr. James E. Dodd and Mr. William Feltham swear that they first saw the relics in 1930. As opposed to this Mr. Fletcher Gill swears he received word of the find from his partner, Mr. Dodd, during the summer of 1931. To add to this confusion a footnote (p. 355) quotes Mr. Gill, "I think it was the latter part of May, 1930, he

[Mr. Dodd] wrote to me and told me about it" (i.e., the finding of the Beardmore relics). Again, Mr. P. J. Bohan swears he saw the relics at Mr. Dodd's camp near Beardmore between May 15, and July 1, 1931; and affirms he checked these dates by referring to contemporary records of the railroad company which employed him. Yet Mr. Eli Ragotte swears he saw the relics in the basement of Mr. Dodd's home in Port Arthur "prior to 1930."

In Mr. Curran's original articles in the *Sault Daily Star*, the discovery year of the Beardmore relics was mentioned twelve times as "1931." In the reprinted text of the book this year now reads "1930." No explanation is offered for such an important change.

In fairness it must be pointed out that this book was not written as an historical treatise. Mr. Curran, undoubtedly, would be the first to admit that gaps in the logic of his arguments must be bridged by faith until time and research prove or disprove his contentions. There is no doubt that he has accumulated many interesting facts that stimulate the imagination.

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The Champlain Road. By F. D. McDOWELL. Toronto: The Macmillan Company of Canada. 1939. Pp. xiv, 421. (\$2.50)

THIS is neither a novel about Champlain, as the title might lead one to expect, nor a novel with a thesis, as might be anticipated from claims made in the preface (especially the claim that the fate of Fort Sainte Marie determined once and for all the destiny of this continent). Champlain has been dead nearly thirteen years when the story opens; and Mr. McDowell is concerned not with proving a theory but with bringing to life an episode in Canadian history which he feels has been unjustly neglected by secular historians.

Beginning on July 4, 1648, the day of the first martyrdom in the Huron country, he relates in full detail the events of the last tragic years of Huronia: the swift Iroquois attacks which leave Sainte Marie alone standing in the midst of desolation, the removal of the mission centre to Christian Island, the terrible winter there, and the final abandonment of the country. Parallel with this tragedy runs a romance involving an Anglo-Saxon hero and heroine and a Huron girl of primitive impulses and no inhibitions.

The Jesuits are portrayed with sympathy and insight, and with almost absolute fidelity to their own records of the facts. But, whereas their writings tell mainly of the labours of the spirit, Mr. McDowell's imagination, aided by information from other sources,¹ has filled in the picture with things of the body. Occasionally, the author suggests how the events known to us only through the accounts of priests, saints, and mystics, might have appeared to a practical layman at the mission. Time and again, however, he lets the Father Superior tell his own story as we have it in the *Relations*. In relating the martyrdoms, he adheres to the Jesuits' own account in each case, telling it with straightforward simplicity and making no attempt to exploit its horror or capitalize on its sensational aspects.

Through this atmosphere of sober realism, where even the names of *donnés* and workmen are taken from the records and ring true, is threaded the romance of Godfrey Plantagenet Bethune and Diana Stanley Woodville. He is from Salem, she from Virginia; they had met as children, both having fallen into the hands

¹An exhaustive treatise, *Old Huronia*, which deserves to be better known was published in the Ontario Bureau of Archives Report for 1908. It was the life work of the Rev. A. E. Jones, S.J. Mr. McDowell acknowledges his indebtedness to this source.

of the Iroquois; they meet again, a dozen years later, at Fort Sainte Marie. The hero is captain of the eight soldiers there (the names of these not being given in the records).

The panic, the superstitious fears, and the lack of disciplined organization which caused the ruin of the Hurons are convincingly portrayed. The savages are vivid figures, with a simple picturesqueness of speech which is one of the delights of the book. Apparently the priests' records of the edifying conduct of Christian converts failed to fire the writer's imagination, for his chief Hurons are unrepentant pagans. The one exception turns, in the end, into the apostate who murdered Father Chabanel. A courageous Christian warrior to stand beside the priests in the hour of disaster would have been a welcome figure, and quite in accord with Ragueneau's *Relation of 1649*.

One might wish that casual references to events outside Huronia had been more carefully checked, especially such well-known dates as those of Kirke's capture of Quebec and Richelieu's death; but the story of Huronia itself is vivid and authentic. The romance is confined to a legitimate field, namely, where the records are silent, or puzzling, or suggestive of mystery. Though the claim made in the preface concerning the significance of the Huron defeat may be open to dispute, there was no need to substantiate it in order to justify the writing of such a book.

Toronto.

ETHEL M. BENNETT

The Log Cabin Myth: A Study of the Early Dwellings of the English Colonists in North America. By HAROLD R. SHURTLEFF. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1939. Pp. xxii, 243. (\$2.50)

ANYONE interested in the early architecture of North America must realize that there is a real demand for the publication of a serious study of the "Log House," and it must be a disappointment to many that the late Mr. Shurtleff should have spent so many years in proving that the first British settlers did not build log houses, but frame ones.

Mr. Shurtleff was both an architect and an historian, a graduate in architecture as well as arts of Harvard. His case, therefore, for the frame house is extraordinarily well made with documentary evidence backed by professional knowledge of the building crafts. The use of nails in great quantities in the seventeenth century may not mean much to the historian, but to the architect, it was evidence of the use of clap boarding rather than log where no nails were required. In any case "clap boarding" and "riven" timbers are frequently mentioned in early writing as well as "Split and mill sawn." The English builders were not accustomed to log construction and used three different methods of construction all brought from Britain: (1) frame and clapboard; (2) half timber; (3) wigwam. Frame was roughly as we know it today except that the skeleton of the house was heavier, and the clap boards were shorter in length and tapered from about half an inch to a knife edge. The result was a draughty house which was made barely livable by mud or plaster daubing inside and out. Half timber was the Elizabethan type, in which the structure of the house was built of timber and the spaces between the supports filled with a network of sticks and plaster. There were fewer of these houses than of the frame because they took longer to build. The wigwam took its name from the Indian tent-like hut, but its form was that of the peat-cutter's and charcoal-burner's shack in England. It was a rude dwelling covered with sail-cloth, bark, or sod, or possibly a mixture of all three. Such a house could only have been temporary and for the very poor.

Swedish settlers brought log construction to America, in fact their log houses were there for the English settlers to see and admire, but the craft made no impression on the conservative English until the eighteenth century. The layman might get the impression that the eighteenth century produced little but log houses. As a matter of fact, there were very few and what there were, were rightly called cabins. In Ontario, it is unlikely that there is a log house extant built before 1840 though frame, brick, and stone houses are to be found dating from the very beginning of the nineteenth century.

A number of restored and model houses of the seventeenth century are illustrated, and in every case they have been badly roofed with cheap machine cut shingles. In Canada it is still possible to obtain hand-split royal shingles with 1" or more butts which would certainly have been used on the Governor's Fair House in Salem in 1628.

If the followers of the "Myth of the Log Cabin" are numerous, the book was worth writing; if they are few it is still an excellent piece of historical research—but the log house as a fact, remains to be written.

E. R. ARTHUR

The University of Toronto.

Commencements. By LEO-PAUL DESROSIERS. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Edns. de l'Action canadienne-française. 1939. Pp. 160.

Le Baron de Saint-Castin: Chef abénaquis. By PIERRE DAVIAULT. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Edns. de l'Action canadienne-française. 1939. Pp. 219.

The Wars of the Iroquois: A Study in Intertribal Trade Relations. By GEORGE T. HUNT. Madison, Wisc.: The University of Wisconsin Press. 1940. Pp. [vi], 209. (\$3.00)

THE three works under review do not contribute in anything like equal measure to the further elucidation of the politics of exploitation in the seventeenth century. Of the three essays contained in *Commencements*, the second, on the French alliance with the Algonkians and Hurons against the Iroquois, needlessly repeats much of the first, which relates the story of French enterprise from Cartier's time through the career of Champlain, without adding anything not familiar to students of this well-documented period. The third essay records the studies of Indian languages made by Cartier, Le Caron, Le Jeune, and others, and of the difficulty of rendering European social and religious concepts in those languages. They are pleasingly written, popular narratives based on readily accessible sources.

On the other hand, Mr. Daviault has reinforced his reading of a number of histories of New England and New France with archival research, the product of which is not so much a biography of Saint-Castin and his offspring as a general history of the Abenaki wars on the north-east frontier of New England, of the attempt of the English to drive a wedge between Canada and Acadia that would bring them closer to their fishing grounds and give them control of the fur trade of the region, and of the halting counter-attempt of the French to maintain a broad belt of contact between the St. Lawrence and their starved and neglected seaboard colony. Although the Abenaki were the chief agents in temporarily forestalling the English advance, and were subsidized for that purpose, the exact part played by Saint-Castin is not clear. He remains a shadowy figure who "went native" and concerned himself perhaps more with the welfare of the Abenaki than with the neglectful imperialism of the court of Versailles. Like many, if not

all, of the administrators of Acadia, he appears to have been economically dependent upon the Puritan enemies of the French. While the undoubted cruelty and treachery of the Puritans towards their Indian neighbours is dwelt upon, the objectivity is marred by the inference that the self-complacency which they exhibited is a permanent characteristic of "Anglo-Saxons," and it is definitely misleading to suggest that "beaucoup d'Anglo-Saxons croient que leur nation descend des dix tribus égarées d'Israël."

Although the basically economic motivation for wars waged in the St. Lawrence and competing routes by tribes desiring to maintain or secure a "middleman" position between the Europeans and the fur-producing Indians has become familiar, largely through the work of Dr. Innis and his school, Professor Hunt, in focussing attention upon the Iroquois, has thrown into clearer relief the policy which carried that people through half a century of conflict from the first assaults on the Ottawa valley Algonkians and the Huron trading empire to their last trade war in the Illinois country in 1684. The destruction of the Hurons was followed by the rise to affluence and power of the Ottawa, the depopulation of western Ontario and Michigan, the repopulation of Wisconsin, and the defeat of the Susquehannah who were competing with the Iroquois for the "middleman" position. He reaffirms the view, now well established, that the Indians encountered by Cartier were of Iroquoian stock, and that they were driven out of the St. Lawrence valley by the Algonkians.

Maintaining that the Iroquois league was formed at a later date than that ascribed to its inception by many scholars, he proceeds to debunk the "myth" that Iroquois greatness was due to the possession of superior armaments, to the natural ferocity attributed to them by Parkman, or to the political genius ascribed to them by Morgan whose knowledge of their early history was allegedly faulty. Although Professor Hunt presents an impressive case, on the basis of meticulous scholarship, for the view that Iroquois greatness derived from geographical location and economic need as stimulated by the influx of European trade goods, and that the early league was never much more than a *mariage de convenience*, yet it may be that in endeavouring to stand straight on the subject, he has leaned almost a little backwards. If geographical location and the need to "export or die" provided the sole explanation for their remarkable military career, did not somewhat similar conditions affect their Huron victims, the smashing of whose delicately balanced three-cornered economy understandably resulted in starvation, but for whose initial military defeat the author seems somewhat at a loss to account? One wonders whether some diversity of imponderable elements between Iroquois and Huron cultures of the mid-century has not been overlooked, and whether the "materialist" terms in which he poses the problem are not unduly restrictive. Moreover, even although the Iroquois "empire" was far less extensive than has been supposed, one wonders whether the range of decisive military action has not been under-estimated (p. 161), since the Iroquois staged successful raids on the headwaters of the St. Maurice and the Saguenay in the fifties, and Necouba was effectively attacked by them in 1662. With these queries raised, however, it remains true that Professor Hunt has made a scholarly contribution to the literature of the fur trade which no student of North American economic history, or of the anthropology of the Iroquoian peoples, can afford to neglect.

ALFRED G. BAILEY

The University of New Brunswick.

The Marquis de Vaudreuil: New France at the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

Part I: *New France and the English Colonies*. By FRANCIS H. HAMMANG. (Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux, 2e série, 47e fascicule.) Louvain, Belgique: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1938. Pp. 218.

MR. HAMMANG'S book is a welcome addition to our Canadian historical library. After Chapais's *Talon* and Lorin's *Le Comte de Frontenac*, this first volume brings the monographic story of New France under the King's direct administration up to 1713, and the second volume, which is in preparation, will carry the narrative up to 1725, the year of Vaudreuil's death.

The purpose of the author, or rather the result of his work is to throw less light on the personal career of Governor Vaudreuil than on the chief events of his administration, the longest tenure of office of all New France's governors, if we take in the time when he acted as administrator. Indeed, Mr. Hammang has preferred to deal with public policy and events rather than biographical details and personal facts. This choice which may have been determined by the material at hand certainly turns out to the benefit of history.

The book opens with a chapter aptly reviewing the organization of the French colonial administration, which is based on the principle that a colony is good only in so far as it is useful to the mother country. The consequence is the complete domination of New France's whole life by French interests. Hence also, the important part played by the King's personal control and the interpretation placed on his policy by the Minister of Marine, who was then in charge of colonial affairs. Pontchartrain, who was the Minister during Vaudreuil's administration, is shown to be a vacillating man, unable not only to conceive a broad or vigorous policy but even to reach a definite decision on practically any question.

A further chapter is taken by a brief sketch of Vaudreuil's career, qualifications, character, and relations in both New France and old France. The third chapter serves as an introduction to Vaudreuil's régime by presenting a picture of the colony with its immense territory stretching from Labrador to Louisiana and its small population of sixteen thousand souls, with no industry but the beaver trade, at that time passing through a terrific crisis ending in ruin and bankruptcy.

Now begins the real story of the book, which is devoted to the trade and war relations of Canada with New England and New York, between 1703 and 1715. The story is well told how Vaudreuil, caught between two powerful neighbouring colonies, is left with neither reinforcements nor even ample supplies from France. Although receiving instructions either indecisive or impossible of execution, he yet managed—by carrying war against New England and winking at contraband trade with New York—to bring Canada safely through a period of war and depression. Undoubtedly, the long unwillingness of New York to stop its profitable fur trading with Montreal, and the friendliness of the Onondagas and Senecas, were favourable factors, but nevertheless to Vaudreuil is due the greater part of the credit. He may not have been a great governor, but he proved himself to be a sound administrator who emerged successfully from probably the most difficult period of Canada's colonial history.

Mr. Hammang's book is a very sound piece of work, without brilliance perhaps, but strongly and well documented, full of precise information and affording a clear insight into New France's administration and difficulties. It will retain the attention of the enquirer and receive the approbation of the scholar. There is no index but a very complete table of contents with a good bibliography.

G. LANCTOT

The Public Archives of Canada, Ottawa.

The British Régime in Michigan and the Old Northwest, 1760-1796. By NELSON VANCE RUSSELL. Northfield, Minn.: Carleton College. 1939. Pp. xii, 302. (\$2.00)

In this volume, Professor Russell has provided a study of the British régime in Michigan which is similar in scope and character to Dr. Louise Phelps Kellogg's monograph on Wisconsin, published a few years ago. Mr. Russell's study is a general history of the Michigan region during the period from the British conquest to the cession of the Western Posts: it is concerned with economic and social developments as well as with political history. The bibliography is impressive; the work is obviously thorough and detailed; and on many aspects of the period, and particularly on strictly regional affairs, the book sheds a good deal of new and interesting light. With respect to the more general questions which confront the student of western history during this period, Mr. Russell re-examines the important problems in the light of old and new evidence without radically altering the more recent conclusions. He approves, for example, of the revised estimate of the importance of George Rogers Clark; and he does not believe that Clark's activities were of any great value in helping the Americans to win their immense territorial gains in the West. Again, he appears to endorse Professor Burt's thesis that the Western Posts were kept by the British not to retain the monopoly of the fur trade, but to pacify the Indians. He refrains from attempting to make any serious contribution to the study of the fur trade during the period, on the plea that the subject has already been competently treated. But the fur trade, as he says himself, was the dominant economic activity of the region, and the brevity with which it is discussed makes the chapter on "Economic and Social Beginnings" appear rather limited in scope.

It is impossible—as, indeed, Mr. Russell recognizes—to study the Old North West strictly in terms of the political entities into which it has been divided. The very international boundary had no political meaning until thirteen years after the Peace Treaty, and very little economic significance for a still further period. What subsequently became "Michigan" was simply a part of a great commercial and political system which had its focus in the St. Lawrence River; and the "local history" of "Michigan" during this period should throughout be related to the development of this international and transcontinental system of which it was so essentially and inevitably a part. So far as politics are concerned, Mr. Russell has succeeded in supplying an ample and quite detailed background; but, with respect to economic and social affairs, space is lavished upon the local happenings at Detroit which might have been used to provide a wider picture of the economic and social organization of the whole region.

The University of Toronto.

D. G. CREIGHTON

Catalogue of the John Clarence Webster Canadiana Collection (Pictorial Section) New Brunswick Museum. By J. C. WEBSTER. (Catalogue no. 1.) Saint John: The New Brunswick Museum. 1939. Pp. xvi, 371.

"EXEGI monumentum aere perennius!" Horace said it in four words. Dr. John Clarence Webster, modest private citizen of Shédiac, N.B. (but one-time world-famous practitioner of humanitarian science, the mere enumeration of whose honours would take more than the space of this article) has used a book of some 380 closely packed pages—and we wish he had given us more! During twenty years Dr. Webster built up one of the greatest collections of pictorial and cartographical Canadiana in existence, and then made of it a free gift to his fellow citizens. Now he has prepared this "interpretative Catalogue," with a minuteness of icono-

graphic detail and a wealth of historical information that are as valuable as they are astounding. The author acknowledges his debt to his many friends. Noteworthy among them were the late and the present Dominion archivists. (Portraits of both are in the collection.) But the achievement was his own, and reflects himself. The collection is broadly Canadian, but the richest fields are those of his particular interests: "portraits, the mid-eighteenth century Anglo-French conflict period, Wolfiana, Quebec, Louisbourg, Annapolis Royal, Chignecto, Halifax, Fredericton and other parts of the Maritime Provinces, and the Shannon-Chesapeake fight."

For the historian, the catalogue is a priceless tool; it is also a fascinating volume for any reader to dip into. Near-omniscience is brought to the reader's aid. He can learn here

Of shoes—and ships—and sealing-wax—
Of cabbages—and kings;

and perhaps, if he reads with very careful attention,

why the sea is boiling hot—
And whether pigs have wings.

At any rate, he can discover that one "Melech Augustus Hultazob," Prince from Canada, had his portrait published at Breslau in 1718 (p. 137), and that an elaborate hospital building was erected at Louisbourg about 1725 (p. 162); what is a Windsor uniform (p. 332), and why one of the ubiquitous marriage legends became associated with the first locomotive in the Maritimes (p. 96); who steered the *Shannon* on June 1, 1813 (p. 77), and what is the most probable solution of the mystery of the *Mary Celeste* (p. 176); how Brook Watson saved the cattle at Missaguash River (p. 324), and why the same personage appears in Gilray's caricature of West's "Death of Wolfe" (p. 357)!

And yet—well, Homer nods. The want of an index, of cross-references, and sometimes of adequate headings involves the loss to the average student of much time and perhaps of much of the lavish information itself. Space is saved by innumerable abbreviations, but at a cost to future workers. Dr. Webster has evidently felt the pressure of Horace's "fuga temporum." "The need for my Catalogue is so urgent that I must perforce publish it without further delay." Obviously, the text did not receive adequate revision. References to the author shuttle back and forth between "I" and "Dr. Webster." A foot-note to page xi finds itself on page xiii. The "No. 993" referred to on page 198, under no. 1103, is now unintelligible. Names in "Saint" sometimes get their alphabetical location under "Sa," sometimes under "St." It follows that the Cross of St. Louis is twice described in almost identical terms (pp. 277, 302). (In both cases "institut" is the expansion of the Latin abbreviation "inst.") Typographical errors are numerous beyond reason. One of curious character may be noted on page 200, fourth line from the bottom: "Mental cors." The key in the appendix, with cor. = corner, does not help. But the portrait supplies the solution: "Mental" is misprint for "Metal" and "cors." abbreviation for "corslet"!

A few examples of slips of other kinds may be selected at random. Prime Minister Bennett and Leader of the Opposition King could not have been present at the centenary of the *founding* of Toronto (p. 20), nor could an Ian MacLaren have been Defence Minister in 1938 (p. 254). The portrait of Frontenac's sister is listed as of his wife (p. 108). Frontenac's father was the boyhood friend of Louis XIII (p. 161). Robert Prescott died in 1815 (p. 239). The view of Prince Arthur's Landing—a woodcut—was published in 1873 (p. 241). What is the meaning of "Toronto, Entrance to Jefferys" (p. 309)? Five of the McCord

Museum drawings by Townshend were published in the extra-illustrated edition of W. T. Waugh's *James Wolfe* (p. 350).

It is unfortunate that haste in publication has marred what otherwise is a magnificent contribution to historical iconography. The great majority of these superficial blemishes would not be here if Dr. Webster had been able to give adequate care to the final revision of his book. However, they are, for the most part, superficial: they will be readily detected by the expert, and will not seriously mislead the novice.

JAMES F. KENNEY

The Public Archives of Canada.

The Orange Order in Upper Canada in the 1820's and The Orange Order and W. L. Mackenzie in the 1830's. By W. B. KERR. Toronto: *The Sentinel*, January 19-March 18, 1939.

THIS series of articles tells the story of the origin of, and the struggle for existence by, the Orange Order in Upper Canada. As is perhaps to be expected in a series of newspaper articles, the printing is by no means free from typographical errors, e.g. the date 1811 is assigned to an issue of the *Canadian Freeman*, and Cronyn is more than once reproduced as Croyne. Professor Kerr is apparently in error in referring to a gentleman of Perth who denounced the Order as "the Roman Catholic W. Morris." If the latter was, as seems probable, the William Morris (later the Hon. William), who took such a prominent part in pressing the claims of the Church of Scotland to a share in the Clergy Reserves, there can be no doubt that he was a Presbyterian.

On the whole the articles are valuable as a contribution to a subject which has an important bearing on both the social and political history of Upper Canada. Of particular interest is the account of the conflict between Orangeism and the Reform movement. The former, continually frowned upon by "the respectable portion of the inhabitants," was saved from voluntary dissolution only because its leaders felt the need of a loyal society to counteract the traitorous designs of some citizens of the province. "Roman Catholics and Orangemen now worked together for the defeat of the Reform candidates." In 1836 the Orange Order, the members of which had hitherto been fairly evenly divided between the two parties, "for the first time . . . acted as a unit at the polls in favour of the Tory Party as the best means of preserving the connection with Great Britain." The writer perhaps shows a certain bias in favour of the Orange Order, but the articles clearly indicate that a history of the Order if it were based on the voluminous records which could doubtless be made available would be a valuable contribution to Canadian historical writing. It is to be hoped that Professor Kerr may sometime be able to go on with such a scholarly study.

G. W. SPRAGGE

Toronto.

Histoire des patriotes. Tome II: Le Nationalisme contre le colonialisme. By GÉRARD FILTEAU. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Edns. de l'Action canadienne-française. 1939. Pp. 255.

IN *Le Nationalisme contre le colonialisme*, the second volume of *Histoire des patriotes*, M. Filteau pursues the theme of the struggle of French Canada to maintain its identity in the troubled decade of the thirties. The struggle is interpreted as between the nationalism of the St. Lawrence valley and the tutelage of the Colonial Office.

Into this story, M. Filteau brings both Canadian and British elements, opening with the reception of the Ninety-two Resolutions by the imperial Parliament and closing with the punitive measures taken against the Montreal *patriotes* in November, 1837. It is in this very juxtaposition, if not interrelation, of elements that the author has made his most useful contribution. It is manifest that much of the technique of protest and of successful agitation was borrowed by the *patriotes* from contemporary Great Britain. Lower Canada must have its "tribut Papineau" just as Ireland had its "Catholic rent." M. Filteau makes it abundantly clear, also, that all the agitation was not on the *patriote* side; the *chouayens*, the Lower Canadian Tories, equalled their opponents in protest and surpassed them in violence. It may be asked, pertinently, if these latter considerations do not invalidate M. Filteau's thesis. Was the struggle in Lower Canada, as he asserts, a national uprising against external authority, or was it a species of civil war? Nevertheless, the author has produced an exceedingly well-rounded narrative based on a careful evaluation of documents. He has made, also, a judicious use of contemporary newspapers. Indeed, possibly, the most interesting section of the study is the chapter devoted to the provincial press (book 5, chap. 1). In his discussion of French-Canadian nationalistic aspirations, M. Filteau writes with great insight. It would be difficult to procure a better expression than this. "Les Canadiens n'avaient pas voulu devenir américains. Ils désiraient encore moins devenir anglais, ils ne voulaient que demeurer des citoyens britanniques mais avec liberté de parler français et de perpétuer leur culture, leur idéal et pour cela, ils réclamaient les indépendances sociale, politique et économique nécessaires à cet irrédentisme" (p. 52).

The chief criticism that may be levelled against *Le Nationalisme contre le colonialisme* is that it confines itself entirely to the political struggle. The author makes no effort to assess the economic and the social forces that, in reality, motivated so much of the parliamentary action. We are told, for example, nothing of the commercial depression that gripped North America in 1837, or, of the more local, but none the less important crop failure that occurred in some sections of the province. These are important omissions, and they give the narrative an air of unreality. They are the more unfortunate, since, in his earlier works, notably, *La Naissance d'une nation*, M. Filteau treated most ably the very factors that he passes over in *Histoire des patriotes*.

JOHN IRWIN COOPER

McGill University.

Reciprocity 1911: A Study in Canadian-American Relations. By L. ETHAN ELLIS. (The Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 207. (\$2.75)

HERE is an excellent study. It is deserving of careful consideration by a much wider public than it will probably reach. It tells the story of the failure of Canada and the United States to set up reciprocal trade in 1911 by legislative enactment. The presentation of the incidents of the movement is concise, vital, and forceful. After briefly sketching the historical background of efforts at reciprocal trade between the two nations and clearly delineating the precarious political positions of President Taft and Premier Laurier, the author presents, step by step, the unfolding of reciprocity from its happy beginning in 1910 to its final failure in 1911.

This work is a distinct contribution to the rapidly growing literature on Canadian-American relations.

Mr. Ellis's monograph goes far beyond the previous conventional interpretations of this movement. He has not utterly destroyed them. He has, however, so modified them by showing the underlying economic motives of those who would gain or lose by the acceptance of reciprocity that the older, purely political interpretation is no longer sufficient. One example of this must suffice. With minor exceptions, the newspapers gave the case for reciprocity an excellent press in the United States, and, in addition, spent large sums to influence Congress through lobbying. The newsprint manufacturers, however, spent large sums for counter-propaganda and for counter-lobbies only to lose in the United States. Ironically enough, as the author has painstakingly shown, the propaganda of each group in the United States was used to good advantage by Canadian economic interests and their political allies to defeat the Laurier government and return the Conservative protectionists to power.

To unearth these underlying motives and forces Mr. Ellis's studies led him far beyond the usually consulted sources of the historian. To be sure, he used all of the manuscript collections only now becoming available and the public archives of both nations, as well as the newspapers. In addition, he carefully checked trade and farm journals and corresponded with many of the persons still living who were interested in furthering or defeating the agreement. If this study is a fair criterion, no historian can afford to neglect farm and trade journals when studying a movement which releases the political energies of powerful economic groups. Some readers of this work, particularly those who have time for "triple deckers," will regret that Mr. Ellis did not quote more extensively from the sources which he examined. However, for those of us who must read and run, his ability and willingness to digest and condense materials are virtues demonstrated throughout this work.

Students of the political changes which took place in the United States and Canada between 1910 and 1912 will discover many data of value to them in this study. One cannot read this volume carefully without gaining a better understanding of the split in the Republican party in the United States which led to its ultimate defeat in the presidential election of 1912. Likewise, students of Canadian politics will get a clearer view of the methods used by the Conservatives to destroy the long domination of Sir Wilfrid Laurier's Liberal party. One is struck again and again by the fact that within the United States the economic nationalism pursued during the previous forty years had brought that nation to a point where it was looking for new outlets for its products and new sources for certain raw materials and food stuffs; the Canadians, on the other hand, were reaching a point of economic nationalism which the United States had left some years before. The reader discovers that growing nationalism in Canada, fanned by the winds of super-patriotism and fear of the loss of the imperial connection, played no small part in the defeat of reciprocity. These conflicting internal political movements north and south of the border were, in final analysis, the cause of the defeat of reciprocity.

In these days, particularly in certain democracies where reciprocal trade agreements made by the executive arm of the government are widely discussed, this book should be carefully studied. Proponents of that way of attaining international trade will find much to support their thesis that legislative bodies, subject to pressure of special interests, are no fit place for the consideration of reciprocal trade which may be advantageous to a vast public. Those who hold the opposite point of view will be discomfited to say the least, for in this study they will find the

lengths to which political parties, hungry for power, and their allies, the economic groups who gain from tariff protection, will go to defeat reciprocal trade agreements. As the author puts it at the close of his preface, "The whole story gives evidence that the 'undefended frontier' was in reality defended by something stronger than bullets and bayonets, an aroused desire for self-sufficiency, adroitly fostered by those who could profit by such self-sufficiency."

Illinois College.

JOE PATTERSON SMITH

Sir John Cunningham McLennan: A Memoir. By H. H. LANGTON. With a Chapter on his Scientific Work by E. F. BURTON. Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1939. Pp. [viii], 123. (\$2.50)

THERE are men of masterful mind who count in their generation and in the pages of history because they see their way clearly and go forward with indomitable energy to their goal. J. C. McLennan was one of these men. So strong was his personality, so forceful his determination, that he aroused antagonism among some who had not learned to know him well. He did not suffer weaklings gladly. But the value of this biography, which is written with sympathy and with affection, is that it shows McLennan as a man of tender feeling underneath an exterior steeled to the task which was on hand. Those who knew him best will be grateful that the book has been written. It reveals the man.

He achieved greatly in the field of physics. The honours which came to him came as a recognition of the fact that he was among the great physicists of his time. Not in originality so much as in the seizing of clues which might be meaningless to others, and in following through with unrelenting energy until success came. In spectroscopy, in low temperature investigations, in war-time work for the Admiralty, he stood in first rank, and meant much in the progress of science. And throughout the years in which he developed the Department of Physics in the University of Toronto to an outstanding position in world reputation, he inspired younger workers whose names are now well known for their own contributions to knowledge. He showed his administrative capacity in the building up of the McLennan Laboratory, in his work in laying the foundations of the National Research Council, in his services in Britain both for the Admiralty and the Radium Institute. What Sir John McLennan set his hand to, he accomplished, and he took joy in the accomplishment. He had the spirit of the pioneer.

Mr. Langton has written a straightforward story, without embellishment and without any filling in between the lines. One could wish that the personal and more intimate side of the life could have been treated in greater detail. We know little of what he thought, or what he did, apart from his absorption in his scientific work. The personality is not completely rounded out in the book before us. But as a statement of accomplishment in his own field, and of the method by which that was achieved, the Memoir leaves little to be desired. The estimate of the value of the scientific work, by Sir John's colleague and successor, Dr. E. F. Burton, is admirable, but all too short. In the reviewer's judgment, a better balance would have been created, had Mr. Langton confined his delineation to McLennan as a man, and had Dr. Burton dealt with his work and achievement as a scientist—providing, that is to say, that the policy of joint authorship is accepted as sound.

These are minor criticisms. We are grateful for a book which tells simply and convincingly the story of a man who counted greatly in his time; not only for his own university, whose prestige he so greatly enhanced, but for Canadian science, and for the reputation of Canadian scientists in Britain and in the world at large.

Queen's University.

R. C. WALLACE

The Canadian Manufacturers' Association: A Study in Collective Bargaining and Political Pressure. By S. D. CLARK. (University of Toronto Studies; History and Economics Series, VII.) Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1939. Pp. xvi, 107. (\$2.00)

THIS "study in collective bargaining and political pressure," as its sub-title calls it, is a good deal more important than its modest size might suggest. "Pressure groups" have played a considerable part in the political and economic history of Canada, but hitherto, as Dr. Clark points out, have "escaped any serious investigation." This work fills the gap for one such group, not the least influential, and does it well. It is clear, concise, thorough, shrewd, and objective.

Five out of the six chapters deal with "political pressure" rather than "collective bargaining." With "collective bargaining" in the ordinary sense the Canadian Manufacturers' Association has had almost nothing to do. Its "bargaining" has been mainly with the railways and insurance companies, and even there much more a matter of advice and services to members than bargaining proper. Such services have been exceedingly important in keeping the Association together. But it seems clear, from Dr. Clark's study, that they have been incidental to its main purpose.

That purpose has been to influence governments to adopt legislation which, in the delightful phrase of one member of the Association, would "be in the best interests of the country and of the manufacturers at large." It has tried "to so mould and shape public opinion that the Government will be justified in giving us the measure of reform that we desire."

Much of the "wise legislation" has, of course, been tariff legislation. It was the desire for a higher tariff which led to the formation of the Association. The National Policy tariff of 1879 was its first great triumph: "With very few exceptions," the Secretary claimed, "the tariff proposed by Sir Leonard Tilley was the same as that suggested by the Manufacturers' Association." It was the desire for further tariff increases as a means of capturing the new prairie market which brought about the reorganization of the Association in 1900. It was the feeling that "the manufacturers of this country can no longer keep silence" in face of the post-war attacks on the tariff which caused the Association to embark, in 1919, on one of the most extensive and elaborate propaganda campaigns of its career. It was concern for the tariff that led to the organization of the first "Department" of the Association, the Tariff Department, under R. W. Breadner, who subsequently graduated into the customs service of the Dominion government.

But it was not only in tariff matters that the Association brought its influence to bear. It also exerted itself, and with considerable (though usually temporary) effect, to prevent such "unwise" enactments as eight-hour day laws, Workmen's Compensation Acts of the type now existing almost all over Canada, union label and alien labour legislation. It lobbied vigorously against certain companies' bills and insurance bills. It did what it could to oppose trade unionism. In a dozen other ways it laboured "to maintain the national interest" (which so happily coincides with the interest of the manufacturers) "against any class or sectional interest."

How it did all this, Dr. Clark describes in ample, though never superfluous, detail, and with a nice sense of proportion. He has not, as a rule, drawn conclusions. What he has done is to provide indispensable data for Canadian social historians, social satirists, and political scientists alike; if they make adequate use of what he has provided, the influence of this small volume is likely to be far-reaching.

McGill University.

EUGENE FORSEY

RECENT PUBLICATIONS RELATING TO CANADA

PREPARED BY THE EDITORIAL OFFICE OF THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO PRESS

(Notice in this bibliography does not preclude a later and more extended review.
The following abbreviations are used: B.R.H.—*Bulletin des recherches historiques*;
C.H.R.—*CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW*.

I. THE RELATIONS OF CANADA WITHIN THE EMPIRE

ADAMS, JAMES TRUSLOW. *Empire on the seven seas: The British Empire, 1784-1939.* New York, London: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1940. Pp. xiv, 391. (\$3.75)

A continuation of the interpretative history for general readers by a well-known American historian. The first volume was reviewed in our issue of December, 1939, p. 429.

AGOPIAN, P. *Les rapports commerciaux de l'Angleterre avec ses dominions.* Paris: Librairie Sociale et Economique. 1939. Pp. iv, 166.

Alliance Paper Mills. *A pictorial souvenir of the Royal Visit to Canada.* Toronto: The Company, 350 Bay Street. 1939. Pp. 13.

CAVELL, R. G. *Canada and the British Empire* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 214-29). A rather misleading title for a speech of general observations on the empire.

CROFT, Sir HENRY PAGE. *Empire unity—the bulwark of civilization* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 19-29).

Daily Telegraph and Morning Post, Dominion of Canada supplement, May 22, 1939. A special supplement issued on the occasion of Their Majesties' visit to Canada. Articles by Professors R. C. Wallace, Norman MacKenzie, Stephen Leacock, F. R. Scott, and others.

The Empire after six months' war (United empire, XXXI (4), April, 1940, 137-40). An examination of public opinion in the Dominions, India, and the colonial empire.

EVATT, H. V. *The discretionary authority of Dominion governors* (Canadian bar review, XVIII (1), Jan., 1940, 1-9). Discussion of a controversial point in imperial constitutional law.

Imperial Order Daughters of the Empire. *Canada within the Empire.* Toronto: I.O.D.E. 1939. Pp. 24.

The King comes to Canada. Toronto: Progress Publishers, 4 Alexander Street. 1939. Pp. 9. (5c.) Condemns the royal visit to Canada as representing the capitalistic oppression of the British Empire.

LEACOCK, STEPHEN. *The British Empire: Its structure, its unity, its strength.* New York [Toronto]: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 263. (\$2.25) To be reviewed later.

NELLES, J. G. *War and imperial relations* (McGill news, XXI (3), spring, 1940, 8-11). A comment on the changed and changing character of the British Empire.

RICHER, LÉOPOLD. *Le Statut de Westminster, 1931* (Le document, no. 31; articles parus au *Devoir*, 25-31 oct. 1938). Montréal: Impr. Populaire. 1939. Pp. 24. (15c.)

Their Majesties' visit to Manitoba: A pictorial record of the visit of King George VI and Queen Elizabeth to the Province of Manitoba, Canada. Winnipeg: Stovel. 1939. Pp. 48. (\$1.00)

II. CANADA'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

ALEXANDER, JACK. *Border without bayonets* (Saturday evening post, CCXII (28), Jan. 6, 1940, 9-10, 73-4, 76). Another article on the "three thousand miles of undefended frontier" theme.

- BOGGS, S. WHITTEMORE. *International boundaries: A study of boundary functions and problems.* Foreword by ISAIAH BOWMAN. New York: Columbia University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 272. (\$3.25) To be reviewed later.
- DARLING, ARTHUR BURR. *Our rising empire, 1763-1803.* New Haven: Yale University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. [iv], 595. (\$5.00) To be reviewed later.
- GIBSON, J. DOUGLAS. *The Canadian balance of international payments: A study of methods and results* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 282-8). An analysis of the Dominion Bureau of Statistics' volume covering the entire field of Canada's transactions with other countries for the period 1927-37.
- HANSEN, MARCUS LEE. *The mingling of the Canadian and American peoples.* Vol. I: *Historical.* Completed and prepared for publication by JOHN BARTLETT BREBNER. (Relations of Canada and the United States, a series of studies prepared under the direction of the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, Division of Economics and History; J. T. SHOTWELL, director.) Toronto: Ryerson Press. New Haven: Yale University Press. 1940. Pp. xxii, 274. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.
- League of Nations. *Report of the Canadian delegates to the twentieth Assembly, Geneva, Dec. 11th-14th, 1939.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 16. (10c.)
- NEAL, ARTHUR L. *South of the border—and north* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (5), May, 1940, 210-39). A study of trade and commercial relations between the United States and Canada.
- TROTTER, REGINALD G., *More on Canada and pan-Americanism—a reply to Professor Corbett* (Inter-American quarterly, II (1), Jan., 1940, 5-10). The author maintains that even if the war had not occurred, Canadian membership in the Pan-American Union would continue to be inappropriate and unlikely.
- WALLACE, MALCOLM W. *Canada and the United States: An address delivered at the thirty-third annual convention of the Association of Life Insurance Presidents in New York City, on Dec. 14, 1939.* New York: The Association. 1939. Pp. 11.
- ### III. CANADA AND THE WAR
- ALEXANDER, R. O. *Canada's defence forces* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 377-92). An outline of the three branches of the defence forces as they were in April, 1939.
- BISHOP, W. A. *Canada's air effort* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXVI (4), April, 1940, 223-36). An address given March 1, 1940, on the work accomplished in the British Commonwealth Air Training Plan.
- Canada, Department of National Defence. *Defence forces list: Naval, military and air forces.* Part I. (Corrected to 1st November, 1939.) Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. xxxii, 630. (\$1.25) ————— *Report for the fiscal year ending March 31, 1939.* Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 118. (25c.)
- Canada's war effort* (Round table, no. 118, March, 1940, 416-26). A general outline of Canada's war effort, in its military, economic, financial, and administrative aspects.
- Canadian unity and the war* (Round table, no. 118, March, 1940, 411-15). The war may well make of Canada a truly united nation, if only the emergencies are met with tolerance and respect for the convictions of the French minority.
- EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *Canada's fighting forces.* Part V. *The servicing units* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (5), March 1, 1940, 18-19, 31-4). Explains the work of the Royal Canadian Ordnance Corps, the Royal Canadian Army Service Corps, the medical and dental corps, and other units who look after the needs and affairs of the fighting forces proper.

GORDON, W. L. *Operation of foreign exchange control in Canada* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXVI (4), April, 1940, 247-61). Discusses the working of the Foreign Exchange Control Board.

JANES, F. C. *The economic impact of the war* (Engineering journal, March, 1940, 113-15). A discussion of some of the fundamental problems involved.

KING, W. L. MACKENZIE. *Canada's war effort* (Canada, House of Commons debates, May 20, 1940). Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 10.

LEFEBVRE, FLORENT. *The French-Canadian press and the war*. Trans. and ed. by J. H. BIGGAR and J. R. BALDWIN. (Contemporary affairs no. 2.) Toronto, Halifax: Ryerson Press. 1940. Pp. [iv], 40. (25c.) This is the second of the series of pamphlets on contemporary affairs published under the joint auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Association for Adult Education. It is a brief, compact, and objective analysis of the attitude of the French-Canadian press to the crisis in Europe and to Canadian participation in the European conflict. The analysis covers the period immediately before and immediately after the Canadian declaration of war; and it concludes with a brief review of the comment of the French-Canadian press on the Quebec election. The pamphlet will be extremely valuable to English-Canadian readers; in a brief space, it presents a surprising amount of illuminating and useful information. [D. G. C.]

LOWER, A. R. M. *Wartime democracy in Canada* (New republic, CII (16), April 15, 1940, 503). A critical examination of the operation of the Defence of Canada Regulations.

MCCULLAGH, C. GEORGE. *Canada at war*. Toronto: Globe and Mail. 1939. Pp. 8, 8, 9.

MCQUEEN, R. *War finance* (Canadian chartered accountant, XXXVI (3 and 4), March and April, 1940, 181-2; 279-81). The sixth and seventh in a series of articles by Professor McQueen on financing the war.

O'LEARY, DILLON. *They defend your dollar* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (4), Feb. 15, 1940, 8, 46-7). Outlines the work the Wartime Prices and Trade Board has undertaken to prevent scarcity, high costs, and profiteering.

SHARPLES, ALICE. *Soldiers of French Canada* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (4), Feb. 15, 1940, 12-13, 27-8, 30, 32). The fourth in a series of articles on Canada's fighting forces.

STACEY, C. P. *Canadian military problems and the present war* (Inter-American quarterly, II (2), April, 1940, 13-20). Outlines Canada's preparation for defence at home and co-operation with her allies abroad, with some attention to the effect her commitments may have upon her relations with the United States.

STRANGE, H. G. L. *Wheat-war—and submarines: An address*. Winnipeg: Searle Grain Co. 1939. Pp. 14.

War Supply Board: Record of contracts awarded from January 1st to March 1st, 1940. Together with supplementary lists: (a) Defence Purchasing Board, July 1st to October 31st, 1939; (b) War Supply Board, November 1st to December 31st, 1939. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. [256].

IV. HISTORY OF CANADA

(1) General History

BARCUS, FRANK. *All around Detroit: A narrative pictorial history to points of interest*. Detroit: Frank Barcus Art Studios. 1939. Pp. 88. Eighty original pen and ink drawings with explanatory text tell the story of Detroit from its founding to the present day.

BUGBEE, WILLIS N. *Drifting down the St. Lawrence.* New York: Fleming H. Revell Co. 1939. Pp. 220. (\$2.00) This travel book is intended as a guide to the more obvious points of tourist interest on the St. Lawrence River. It specializes in the quaint and picturesque of both past and present; and is in no sense a serious study of the river or its history. [D. G. C.]

CARTER, CLARENCE EDWIN (comp. and ed.). *The territorial papers of the United States. Vol. VII: The Territory of Indiana, 1800-1810. Vol. VIII: The Territory of Indiana, 1810-1816.* Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office. 1939. Pp. xi, 784; viii, 496. (\$2.00; \$1.50)

DANDURAND, ALBERT. *Nos Orateurs.* (Série les jugements.) Montréal: Edns. de l'A.C.-F. 1939. Pp. 233. (\$1.00) Includes some important figures in Quebec's political history.

FETHERSTONHAUGH, R. C. *De Politie der Wildernis.* Utrecht: N. V. Brockhoff. 1939. Pp. 288. A translation of *The Royal Canadian Mounted Police* (1938), by K. H. Brockhoff.

GÉLINAS, J. G. *En veillant avec les petits de chez-nous, régime anglais.* Montréal: Granger. 1939. Pp. 140. (40c.) The chief point of interest in this small book is the highly coloured interpretation of Canadian history since 1763 which is offered for the consumption of younger readers.

GRAHAM, JAMES S. *A Scotch-Irish Canadian Yankee.* New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1939. Pp. 269. Reminiscences of life in Ontario and Manitoba in the third quarter of the nineteenth century, written from the diary of the author.

PETERSON, H. C. *Propaganda for war: The campaign against American neutrality, 1914-1917.* Norman, Okla.: University of Oklahoma Press. 1939. Pp. xii, 357. (\$3.00) It is perhaps inevitable that a book on this subject, in spite of its paraphernalia of foot-notes and bibliography, should be an attempt to prove a thesis rather than to write objective history. British propaganda alone is studied, which makes it appear, in spite of the author's disclaimer of a desire to be unfair, that the Germans were at all times the innocent victims of misinformation. The assumptions on which the argument is based are simple: the issues in the war, or the question as to who won, did not really concern the United States; all Americans who upheld this view were guarding the real interests of their country; all who opposed it were deluded victims of British propaganda, and intentionally or unintentionally were traitors to the country's real interests; President Wilson was the arch-villain or arch-fool or both. With regard to this type of argument one may merely remark that between 1914 and 1917 there were very solid reasons from the American point of view both for and against participation. Many Americans believed that the United States in its own interest could not afford to run the risk of a German victory. To ask the reader to assume that these millions of Americans were unpatriotic puppets completely victimized by a gigantic and devilishly clever intrigue is to put a strain on his credulity with a vengeance. This may be "history" but we can be assured it is not the last word of American scholarship on the subject. [G. W. B.]

POUND, ARTHUR. *Detroit: Dynamic city.* New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1940. Pp. xii, 398. A popular history of the city of Detroit. The book obviously does not pretend to make any very original contribution to knowledge in the fields of history, economics, or sociology. It seeks rather to portray, in a simple, popular fashion, the colour and drama of Detroit's development; and, judged from this point of view, its list of authorities is not unimpressive. It is superbly illustrated by an artist who has already drawn pictures for nearly a dozen books on important urban centres in the United States. [D. G. C.]

(2) Discovery and Exploration

CURRAN, J. W. *A Norseman died in Ontario 900 years ago* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 96-109). An argument for the view that the Norsemen's Vinland was the Great Lakes area.

(3) New France

ALFRED, Brother. *Francis Collins, first Catholic journalist in Upper Canada [1801-74]* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1938-39, 51-66). Collins founded and edited the *Canadian Freeman*, 1825-34, and his attacks on the Family Compact led to his imprisonment for libel.

BERNARD, ANTOINE. *Histoire de l'Acadie*. Moncton, N.B.: *L'Evangeline*. 1938. Pp. 130. (90c.)

BERNEVAL. *Les contingents de filles à marier de 1649-1653* (B.R.H., XLV (9), sept., 1939, 257-70). Brief records of some of the French women who came over to New France between these years to marry men already living there.

Un conseil de guerre à Québec en 1752 (B.R.H., XLV (12), déc., 1939, 353-8). Correspondence between Longueuil and Deramezay.

DAVIAULT, PIERRE. *Le Baron de Saint-Castin: Chef abénaquis*. (Documents historiques.) Montréal: Edns. de l'Action canadienne-française. 1939. Pp. 219. An historical work on a definite period in the history of Acadia.

GAGNÉ, C. *Seigniorial tenure in Canada* (Proceedings of the International Conference of Agricultural Economists, held at Macdonald College, Canada, Aug. 21-28, 1938; London, 1939, 316-24). The author concludes that the seigniors' lack of interest in improving their seigniories explains why the system had so little lasting influence on the rural economy.

GAUVIN, MICHEL. *Codréanus, l'homme de la forêt*. (Cahier I.) Québec: Edns. de la Nouvelle France. 1939. Pp. 32. (15c.)

HAMMANG, FRANCIS H. *The Marquis de Vaudreuil: New France at the beginning of the eighteenth century*. Part I: *New France and the English colonies*. (Université de Louvain, Recueil de Travaux, 2e série, 47e fascicule.) Louvain, Belgique: Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1938. Pp. 218. See p. 213.

LESAGE, JULES. *La culture intellectuelle chez les anciens canadiens* (Horizons [formerly Le Mauricien], III (6), juin, 1939, 12-13). As evidence of cultural life in French Canada from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century the author cites a number of letters of the period and lists the contents of a library.

MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Le château de Callière à Montréal* (B.R.H., XLV (10), oct., 1939, 309-13). Discusses the building of the château to be used by Louis-Hector de Callière, Governor of Montreal from 1684 to 1703.

[ROY, P.-G.]. *Rapport de l'archiviste de la province de Québec pour 1938-1939*. Québec: Imprimeur de Sa Majesté le Roi. 1939. Pp. [viii], 385. To be reviewed later.

VIGNERAS, LOUIS-ANDRE. *Letters of an Acadian trader, 1674-1676* (New England quarterly, XIII (1), March, 1940, 98-110). Some of the history of the *Compagnie du Nord*, which carried on trade between Acadia and France in the 1670's, is revealed in the letters of one of its officials, Henri Brunet.

WEBSTER, J. C. *Alleged portrait of Madame de la Tour* (B.R.H., XLV (12), déc., 369-72). Interesting conjectures regarding the early life of Madame de la Tour and comments on an alleged portrait of her which is now in the New Brunswick Museum.

WOODLEY, E. C. *Canada's romantic heritage: The story of New France*. Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons. 1940. Pp. [x], 288. (\$3.00) See p. 242.

(4) British North America before 1867

BUFFINTON, ARTHUR H. *The Canada expedition of 1746* (American historical review, XLV (3), April, 1940, 552-80). Concludes that motives of expediency in British domestic politics promoted the abortive military expedition to Canada in 1746, and that the Duke of Newcastle alone profited from the plan.

- CALKIN, HOMER L. *Pamphlets and public opinion during the American Revolution* (Pennsylvania magazine of history and biography, LXIV (1), Jan., 1940, 22-42). Another contribution on the important theme of propaganda in the American Revolution.
- CONNOLLY, JOHN J. *Lord Selkirk's efforts to establish a settlement for Irish Catholics at the Red River* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1938-39, 39-49).
- CRUIKSHANK, E. A. (ed.). *A collection of contemporary letters and documents, January to July 1813.* (Records of Niagara, no. 44.) Niagara-on-the-Lake, Ont.: Niagara Historical Society. 1939. Pp. 87.
- GATES, CHARLES M. *The West in American diplomacy, 1812-1815* (Mississippi valley historical review, XXVI (4), March, 1940, 499-510). In the peace negotiations which followed the War of 1812 both the British and United States governments sought to improve their positions in the Great Lakes country.
- GRANT, L. S. *Fort Hall under the Hudson's Bay Company, 1837-1856* (Oregon historical quarterly, XLI (1), March, 1940, 34-9). Purchased from an independent American trader in 1837 the fort dominated the fur trade of the Snake River valley until it was abandoned in 1856.
- HOLBROOK, STEWART H. *Ethan Allen.* New York: Macmillan Co. Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1940. Pp. x, 283. (\$2.75) To be reviewed later.
- KOHLMEIER, A. L. *The Old Northwest as the keystone of the arch of American federal union: A study in commerce and politics.* Bloomington, Indiana: Principia Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 257. (\$2.50) This is a study of the region bounded by the Ohio River, the Great Lakes, and the Mississippi in the years 1818 to 1861. By a careful examination of economic interests and in particular of transportation the author shows why the Old Northwest exerted its influence strongly, and with decisive effect, in favour of the union in 1861. The desire for rail and water routes to the seaboard was a dominant motive. In making this clear the author indicates numerous points of contact between Canadian and American interests and policy. [G. W. B.]
- LAURISTON, VICTOR. *Tecumseh* (Kentiana, Kent Historical Society, 1939, 41-52). With the defeat and death of Tecumseh died his dream of a great united Indian empire west of the Mississippi which would bar the ruthless westward advance of the whites.
- LONG, J. C. *Mr. Pitt and America's birthright: A biography of William Pitt the Earl of Chatham, 1708-1778.* New York [Toronto]: Frederick A. Stokes Co. 1940. Pp. xvi, 576. (\$3.75) To be reviewed later.
- LOD, NORMAN C. (ed.). *The war on the Canadian frontier, 1812-14* (Journal of the Society for Army Historical Research, XVIII (72), winter, 1939, 199-211). Hitherto unpublished letters of Sergeant James Commins, 8th foot regiment, from Windsor, Upper Canada, August 21-8, 1815, giving his account of the engagements and skirmishes in which his regiment took part.
- LUNDIN, LEONARD. *Cockpit of the Revolution: The War of independence in New Jersey.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press. London: Oxford University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 463. (\$3.75) A careful study of the revolutionary war in one important area.
- MULLALLY, EMMET J. *The Hon. Edward Whelan [1824-67]* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1938-39, 67-83). The story of an Irish emigrant who left his mark—editor, member of Parliament, and a Father of Confederation from Prince Edward Island.
- [MURRAY, JAMES]. *Governor Murray's journal of the siege of Quebec, from 18th September, 1759, to 25th May, 1760.* Toronto: Rous and Mann. 1939. Pp. 34.

NEVINS, ALLAN. *Frémont: Pathmarker of the West.* New York, London: D. Appleton-Century Co. 1939. Pp. xvi, 649.

NIELSEN, JEAN C. *Donald McKenzie in the Snake country fur trade, 1816-1821* (Pacific northwest quarterly, XXXI (2), April, 1940, 161-79). The exploits of this intrepid trader were largely responsible for the expansion of the North West Company in this rich trading country.

OVERMAN, WILLIAM D. (ed.). *Speculative interest in Ohio lands in 1829 as revealed in a letter from Henry Farmer to Samuel J. Browne* (Ohio State archaeological and historical quarterly, XLVIII (4), 329-337). This letter "affords a detailed account by an observant and well-informed Englishman of the unsettled political, economic, and social conditions in England just prior to the Era of Reform (1832)." The writer observes that "Thousands who go to the Canadas will quit it for the United States." [J. J. TALMAN]

RICH, E. E. (ed.). *Colin Robertson's correspondence book, September 1817 to September 1822.* Assisted by R. HARVEY FLEMING. Introduction by the editor. (Publications of the Champlain Society, Hudson's Bay Company series, II.) Toronto: The Society. 1939. Pp. cxxxii, 372, xiii. To be reviewed later.

SCOTT, W. L. *Glengarry's representatives in the Legislative Assembly of Upper Canada* (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1938-39, 19-37). Biographical sketches of some of the members who represented Glengarry from 1792 to 1841.

SMITH, PEMBERTON. *A research into early Canadian masonry, 1759-1869.* Montreal: Quality Press. 1939. Pp. [x], 140. To be reviewed later.

TATUM, EDWARD H., Jr. (ed.). *The American journal of Ambrose Serle, secretary to Lord Howe, 1776-1778.* Introduction by the editor. San Marino, Cal.: Huntington Library. 1940. Pp. xxx, 369. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

A Vermont incident in the American Revolution: The story of Richard Wallace (Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, VIII (1), March, 1940, 31-43). Original statement made by Wallace in 1832, together with notes by Dorothy C. Walter. Wallace and a comrade in 1777 swam across Lake Champlain to carry a vital message to troops on the other side.

WOOD, ROBERT FRANKLIN. *Captain Jesse Platt and the New York provincial troops in the French and Indian war (1759-1761)* (New York genealogical and biographical record, Oct., 1939; Jan., 1940).

(5) The Dominion of Canada

Almanach du peuple Beauchemin, 70e année. Montréal: Beauchemin. 1939. Pp. 480. (25c.)

Annuaire de la publicité et de l'imprimerie, 1939: Revue annuelle de l'activité canadienne-française dans les domaines de la presse, de la radio, de la publicité, de l'imprimerie et des arts graphiques. Ottawa: Edns. du Droit. 1939. Pp. 192. (\$1.00)

Canada, House of Commons: Debates, 3 Geo. VI, 1939. In 4 vols. and index. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939.

Canadian annual review of public affairs (founded by J. Castell Hopkins), 1935 and 1936: Thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth years of issue. Toronto: Canadian Review Co. 1939. Pp. xxvii, 701, 195. (\$8.00)

Canadian Club of Toronto. *Addresses delivered before the Canadian Club of Toronto, vol. XXXVI, season of 1938-9.* Toronto: Warwick Bros. and Rutter. 1939. Pp. xiv, 355.

The Canadian flag question again! DUGUID, A. FORTESQUE, *The flag of the Canadian Active Service Force*; NOBBS, PERCY E., *Canadian flag problems*; FORBES, D. STUART, *C.A.S.F. flag needs "certain simplifications"* (McGill news, XXI (3), spring, 1940, 13-16). Discussion of the significant emblems which should form the make-up of a distinctive Canadian flag.

Congrès de la Jeunesse Indépendante Catholique. *L'avenir de notre bourgeoisie: Conférences prononcées au premier congrès de la Jeunesse Indépendante Catholique, Montréal, 25-27 février.* Montréal: Edns. Bernard Valquette. 1939. Pp. 141. (75c.) Contains: "La bourgeoisie et l'économie," by Esdras Minville; "La bourgeoisie et la culture," by Victor Barbeau; "La bourgeoisie et le national," by Lionel Groulx.

Empire Club of Canada. *Addresses delivered to members during the year 1938-9.* Toronto: Maclean Publishing Co. 1939. Pp. x, 434.

FERGUSON, G. V. *How we govern ourselves.* (Contemporary affairs, no. 1.) Toronto, Halifax: Ryerson Press. Pp. 32. (25c.) This is the first in a series of pamphlets on contemporary affairs edited by Professor G. M. Wrong and published under the auspices of the Canadian Institute of International Affairs. The pamphlet combines a description of the Canadian national political system and a defence of democracy as a method of government. Provincial and municipal administration in Canada is not analysed; but there is a brief, valuable discussion of the problem of Dominion-provincial relations. The pamphlet, which is purposely designed for the general reader, is both informative and interesting. [D. G. C.]

GIBSON, WILLIAM. *Senator the Hon. Michael Sullivan* [1838-1915] (Canadian Catholic Historical Association report, 1938-39, 85-93). An appreciation of an eminent surgeon and professor of Queen's University who served also as a Senator for over 25 years.

HARVEY, JEAN-CHARLES. *Can we achieve Canadian unity?* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 184-99). A plea for greater understanding, tolerance, and interchange of ideas between the component parts of our population, particularly between the French and the English Canadians.

JENNINGS, W. IVOR. *The Canadian election* (New statesman and nation, XIX (474), March 23, 1940, 390-1). A prediction that Mr. King would be returned without much opposition.

LAMBERT, R. S. *Civil liberty in Canada* (New statesman and nation, XIX (467), Feb. 3, 1940, 129-30). A comment on the Defence of Canada Regulations.

LAURENDEAU, ANDRÉ. *L'Abbé Lionel Groulx.* (Nos maîtres de l'heure, I, no. 1.) Montréal: Edns. de l'A.C.-F. 1939. Pp. 66. (25c.) A short and brilliantly written biography.

MACDONALD, VINCENT C. *The constitution and the courts in 1939* (Canadian bar review, XVIII (3), March, 1940, 147-58). Presents in summary form the cases in which the courts have determined points of Canadian constitutional law during 1939.

Mackenzie King, step by step (New world, I (1), March, 1940, 3-6, 49). Reviews the career of the Prime Minister.

MACLEOD, NORMAN M. *National policy—1939 version* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 361-76). Contends that the problem of national unity in Canada rests upon an economic basis and that only bold enterprises of wide vision, such as the St. Lawrence power project, can solve that problem.

MAGNAN, C.-J. *Le Carillon-Sacré-Cœur: Drapeau national des Canadiens français.* Québec: Action Catholique. 1939. Pp. 44. (30c.)

MORIN, RENÉ. *A co-operating Canadianism* (Dalhousie review, XX (1), April, 1940, 9-20). By co-operation Canadians can neutralize such factors of dissension as regional divergences of economic interest and racial differences, and achieve a unity which will promote the welfare and prosperity of all.

MORRIS, LESLIE. *Story of Tim Buck's party*. Toronto: New Era Publishers. 1939. Pp. 31. (5c.)

NORMANDIN, A. L. (ed.). *Canadian parliamentary guide, 1939*. Hull, P.Q.: Labour Exchange. 1939. Pp. 718. (\$4.00)

RICHARD, E. RENÉ. *Peace, order, and good government* (Canadian bar review, XVIII (4), April, 1940, 243-60). A discussion of Canadian appeals to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, of the O'Connor report, and more particularly of the "peace, order and good government" clause of section 91 of the B.N.A. Act.

SANDWELL, B. K. *The federal election* (Queen's quarterly, XLVII (1), spring, 1940, 89-93). Considers that the electors are being asked to decide with nothing but vague charges and counter-charges on which to base their decision.

W[HITTON], C[HARLOTTE]. *Welfare in a democracy* (Canadian welfare, XVI (2), April-May, 1940, 3-8, 32). A warning that democracy is threatened, unless it can be made to ensure happiness and security for all classes.

WOOD, T. E. *Canada's strategic election* (Nation, March 23, 1940, 391-3). Discusses issues, policies, and parties.

(6) The Great War

HASSE, F. R. *A touched-up war diary* (Forty-niner, no. 30, Jan., 1940, 8-11). The tenth instalment of the diary of a Canadian private in France, 1914-18.

KNOX, F. A. *Canadian war finance and the balance of payments, 1914-18* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 226-57). Some estimates of Canada's balance of international payments during the years of the last war with observations upon the part played by war finance methods in the war-time expansion of the volume of money in Canada.

Reminiscences mild and bitter (Forty-niner, no. 30, Jan., 1940, 14-15). Incidents and battles in the War of 1914-18 as recalled by Canadian soldiers.

V. PROVINCIAL AND LOCAL HISTORY

(1) The Maritime Provinces

LOUGHEED, W. F. and MACKENZIE, W. C. *Provincial finance in Nova Scotia: An introduction*. (Bulletin no. X of the Institute of Public Affairs [Dalhousie].) Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1940. Pp. xvi, 97.

MCANN, AIDA. *Busy hands in New Brunswick* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (3), March, 1940, 126-41). A widespread revival and artistic development of its handicrafts is taking place in New Brunswick.

MACPHAIL, Sir ANDREW. *The master's wife*. Montreal: Gnaedinger Printing Co. 1939. Pp. vi, 246. (\$3.00) In a series of loosely connected sketches, Sir Andrew depicts the life of Prince Edward Island in bygone days.

MARTELL, J. S. *The achievements of Agricola and the Agricultural Societies in 1818-25*. Prepared under the direction of D. C. HARVEY. (Bulletin of the Public Archives of Nova Scotia, II, no. 2.) Halifax: Public Archives of Nova Scotia. 1940. Pp. 48. John Young, who wrote under the pen name of Agricola, did a great deal by means of his Letters and by the establishment of societies to raise Nova Scotia from the agricultural depression from which she suffered in 1815 and 1816.

Nova Scotia, Public Archives of. *Report of the Board of Trustees for the year ended 30th Nov., 1939*. Halifax: King's Printer. 1940. Pp. 23.

(2) The Province of Quebec

- ANGERS, F.-A. *La position économique des Canadiens français dans le Québec* (Actualité économique, oct., 1939, 401-26).
- Annuaire des comtés Chicoutimi, Lac-Saint-Jean et Roberval.* Chicoutimi, P.Q.: Librairie Régionale. 1939. Pp. 288. (\$1.00)
- ARCHAMBAULT, J.-B.-O. *Monographie de la paroisse de Sainte-Rosalie.* (Documents maskoutains, no. 5.) Saint-Hyacinthe, P.Q.: Société d'Histoire Régionale. 1939. Pp. 175. (65c.)
- BARBEAU, MARIUS. *Le royaume de Saguenay* (Canada français, nov., 1939, 227-38).
- BROUILLETTE, BENOIT. *Le développement industriel du port de Montréal* (Comptes rendus du Congrès International de Géographie, Amsterdam, 1938, tome II, sect. IIIb, 8-36; Leiden, Holland, E. J. Brill).
- Dickens Fellowship, Montreal Branch. *The Dickens Fellowship: Story of 30 years' activities of the Montreal Branch.* Montreal: The Society, secretary, Winnifred Parker, 810 Upper Belmont Avenue, Westmount. 1939. Pp. 12.
- GAGNON, BLANCHE. *Réminiscences et actualités.* Québec: Garneau. 1939. Pp. 254. (75c.) The daughter of the poet Ernest Gagnon publishes fragments of her past life; the book is rich in details on the history of Quebec City during the last quarter of the nineteenth century.
- GRAVEL, ALBERT. *Les Cantons de l'Est.* Sherbrooke, P.Q.: Chez l'auteur. 1939. Pp. 221. (\$1.00) Issued in honour of the centenary of the founding of the City of Sherbrooke.
- LÉGARÉ, ROMAIN. *L'Abitibi, région de colonisation* (Nos cahiers, déc., 1939, 321-43).
- LEWIS, H. H. *Population of Quebec Province: Its distribution and national origins* (Economic geography, XVI (1), Jan., 1940, 59-68). The settlement pattern in Quebec is the result of geographical conditions and the dual national origins of the population.
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Hôtellerie puis hôpital* (B.R.H., XLV (12), déc., 1939, 358-61). The story of the second Donegana Hotel, built after the first one was burnt in 1849. The hotel became the Hôpital Notre-Dame in 1880 and remained so until 1924.
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- Les mutations d'un coin de rue* (B.R.H., XLV (9), sept., 1939, 271-4). On the north-west corner of Notre-Dame and Bon-Secours Streets in Montreal were built successively the Donegana Hotel, razed to the ground during the riots of 1849, and the residence of Pierre-Etienne Picault, vice-consul to France in 1869.
- Montreal* (New World, I (1), March, 1940, 17-24). Outlines the features of Montreal life which give it its unique flavour.
- SAINTE-DENIS, H. *Fascism in Quebec: False alarm.* Ottawa: Edns. de l'Université. 1939. Pp. 10.
- VAILLANCOURT, EMILE (comp.). *A partial list of Canadian discoverers, explorers, and founders of states and cities of the United States of America who proceeded from the Province of Quebec wherein most of them were born and others had their home.* Montreal. 1938. Pp. 14 (mimeo.).

(3) The Province of Ontario

- Acton's early days: Recollections of "the old man," as published in the Acton Free Press.* Acton, Ont.: Acton Free Press. 1939. Pp. 285. To be reviewed later.

- AGAR, MARGARET. *Antique Ontario* (Americana, XXXIV (1), Jan., 1940, 7-38). Edited with an introduction by J. E. Middleton. A chronicle of family life and personal history written by the wife of a Primitive Methodist minister for her descendants. It covers approximately the period 1850-85.
- CUTHBERTSON, GEORGE A. *Montreal Mining Company's men surveying the Joseph Woods mineral location near Thunder Cape, 1846* (Canadian mining journal, LX (6), June, 1939, 353-4). Tells the story of the first large-scale mining venture that was promoted entirely on this side of the Atlantic.
- EDWARDS, FREDERICK. *South of the border* (Maclean's magazine, LIII (9), May 1, 1940, 20-2, 35-40). A description of the fast-growing industrial city of Windsor, Ontario, which is both south and north of the border.
- ELLIOTT, JAMES R. *History of Oakley Township* (Muskoka Herald, Bracebridge, Ontario, June 8, 15, 22, 29, July 13, 1939). Historical sketches of settlers and settlements by the clerk of the township.
- GEMMILL, J. R. *Historical sketch of the press of Chatham* (Kentiana, Kent Historical Society, 1939, 87-9).
- HAMIL, FREDERICK COVNE. *Fairfield on the River Thames* (Ohio State archaeological and historical quarterly, XLVIII (1), Jan., 1939, 1-19). This is an exhaustive and well-documented account of the village established on the Thames River by Moravian missionaries in 1792. The village was destroyed by the American army after the Battle of Moraviantown and was rebuilt on the opposite side of the river. [J. J. TALMAN]
- HERON, RICHARD. *Ontario's far west* (Country guide, LIX (2), Feb., 1940, 11, 30-1). A study of farming methods in the Dryden and Rainy River districts reveals that they resemble those of the eastern provinces, rather than those of the more adjacent prairies.
- MAURAUFT, OLIVIER. *Kingston à la fin du régime français* (La Société canadienne d'histoire de l'église catholique, 1938-39, 11-17). Discusses life in Kingston from 1747 to 1752 in the light of a document discovered in Montreal.
- ROBSON, ELIZABETH. *Early days in Canada*. London: Arthur H. Stockwell. [1939]. Pp. 108. (3s.) Reminiscences by one who was brought up on a pioneer farm in Ontario, and which will be of interest chiefly to those who are not familiar with the more extensive and more orderly descriptions of that life. [G. deT. G.]
- STEWART, A. and LECKIE, H. K. *Comparisons of Kent County, Ontario, farms in 1921 and 1938*. Parts I and II (Economic annalist, Dec., 1939, and April, 1940, 19-25; 84-8).
- WALTER, T. DAYMAN. *The Detroit River frontier* (School, XXVIII (9), May, 1940, 782-6). Historic incidents that have taken place along these twenty-five miles of boundary.
- WARNER, OLIVER. *Uncle Laurence*. London: Chatto and Windus [Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada]. 1939. Pp. vi, 155. (\$1.65) Sketches descriptive of life on Pelee Island.
- York Pioneer and Historical Society. *Report for year 1938*. Toronto: The Society. 1939. Pp. 24.
- (4) **The Prairie Provinces**
- Canada, Dominion Bureau of Statistics; Department of Trade and Commerce. *Census of Saskatchewan, 1936: Population and agriculture*. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1938. Pp. lxiv, 359-828. (50c.) (French and English)

DAWSON, C. A. and YOUNG, EVA R. *Pioneering in the Prairie Provinces: The social side of the settlement process.* Vol. VIII. (Canadian frontiers of settlement edited by W. A. MACKINTOSH and W. L. G. JOERG.) Toronto: Macmillan Co. of Canada. 1940. Pp. xiv, 338. (\$4.50) To be reviewed later.

KENNEDY, E. R. *Industrial development and possibilities of Saskatchewan* (Industrial Canada, XLI (2), June, 1940, 40-3). The third of a series of articles.

MCLEAN, WILSON. *Summary of Manitoba legislation, 1940* (Manitoba bar news, XII (8), April, 1940, 77-82).

(5) British Columbia and the North-west Coast

BENNET, MORTON L. *Vancouver and the Company* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 4, March, 1940, 32-7). As Vancouver grew, so grew the Hudson's Bay Company store—from humble beginnings to cosmopolitan dignity.

CARRINGTON, HUGH. *Life of Captain Cook.* London: Sidgwick & Jackson. 1939. Pp. x, 324. (16s.) To be reviewed later.

CURRIE, W. H. *Western pilgrimage* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (5), May, 1940, 268-85). A descriptive article about the beauty and charm of travel in British Columbia.

CUTHBERTSON, GEORGE A. *H.M.S. Plumper with the naval expedition to Hope, B.C. on the Fraser River, January, 1859* (Canadian mining journal, LX (8), Aug., 1939, 491-4). An incident illustrating the difficulties of keeping order in British Columbia during the gold rush period of 1858 and 1859.

MUNFORD, KENNETH. *John Ledyard: An American Marco Polo.* Portland, Ore.: Binford & Mort. 1939. Pp. 311. Reviewed, March, p. 80.

MYRVOLD, PETER. *Den mest norske by i Kanada* (Norrona Canadian, Winnipeg, May 18, 1939). An account of Prince Rupert, "the most Norwegian town in Canada."

SMITH, GOLDWIN. *Notes on the problem of San Juan* (Pacific north-west quarterly, XXXI (2), April, 1940, 181-6). Controversy over possession of San Juan Island turned on its strategic military potentialities.

STONE, H. A. *A short history of Caulfeild Village.* Vancouver, B.C.: Wrigley Printing Co. [1940]. Pp. 25. (50c.) This village on the north shore of Burrard Inlet was founded in 1899 by Francis W. Caulfeild.

(6) North-west Territories, Labrador, and the Arctic Regions

ALBEE, RUTH and BILL. *Alaska challenge.* With LYMAN ANSON. New York: Dodd, Mead & Co. 1940. Pp. [vi], 366. (\$3.50) See p. 205.

BENNETT, P. M. *The British Canadian Arctic expedition* (Geographical journal, XCV (2), Feb., 1940, 109-20). An account of the British expedition of 1936-7.

BERNIER, JOSEPH ELZEAR. *Master mariner and Arctic explorer: A narrative of sixty years at sea from the logs and yarns of Captain J. E. Bernier.* With a foreword by WILLIAM WOOD. Ottawa: Le Droit. 1939. Pp. 409. (\$2.50)

The first steamship in Arctic exploration (Geographical journal, XCV (2), Feb., 1940, 131-2). A note on the *Victory* in 1829, whose engine proved a handicap, not a help.

HAIG-THOMAS, DAVID. *Expedition to Ellesmere Island, 1937-38* (Geographical journal, XCV (4), April, 1940, 265-77).

IRWIN, DAVID. *One man against the north.* With FRANKLIN M. RECK. New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co. [Toronto: Oxford University Press]. 1940. Pp. iv, 244. (\$2.00) See p. 205.

MARRIOTT, R. S. *Canada's eastern Arctic patrol* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (3), March, 1940, 156-61). The once-a-year voyage of *R.M.S. Nascoie*, to deliver food and medical supplies to government posts in the eastern Arctic, gives opportunity also for scientific investigation and police administration.

NICHOLS, D. A. *Arctic tides and currents* (Beaver, outfit 270, no. 4, March, 1940, 18-22).

PROWSE, G. R. F. *The true and only Labrador*. Winnipeg: The author, 135 Hargrave St. 1939. Pp. 17 (mimeo.).

SEGAL, LOUIS. *The conquest of the Arctic*. London, Toronto: George G. Harrap & Co. 1939. Pp. 285. See p. 206.

SHARPLES, ALICE. *Ports of pine: Labrador—Newfoundland—Gaspé*. Foreword by Sir WILFRED GRENFELL. Montreal: Clarke Steamship Co. 1939. Pp. [vi], 89. See p. 206.

TRELAWNEY-ANSELL, E. C. *I followed gold*. London: Peter Davies. 1938. Pp. 320.

WRIGHT, JOHN. *Southeast Ellesmere Island* (Geographical journal, XCV (4), April, 1940, 278-91). Reports the results of a survey in 1938.

(7) Newfoundland

TOMKINSON, GRACE. *Shakespeare in Newfoundland* (Dalhousie review, XX (1), April, 1940, 60-70). A study of the origins of some of the distinctive words and turns of speech used by Newfoundlanders.

VI. GEOGRAPHY, ECONOMICS, AND STATISTICS

(1) General

ASHLEY, C. A. *Investigation into an alleged combine of wholesalers and shippers of fruit and vegetables in Western Canada* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 288-92). Reviews the report of the Commissioner under the Combines Investigation Act.

BLADEN, V. W. *Report on an alleged combine in the paper board shipping container industry* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 293-6). Reviews the report of the Commissioner under the Combines Investigation Act.

CLARK, S. D. *Economic expansion and the moral order* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 203-25). The general pattern of social development in Canada has been determined by forces of economic expansion, and if this differs from that followed in the United States, the reason can be found in the distinctive character of Canadian political institutions.

COE, V. F. *Canada in a critical world economy*. Charlottesville, Va.: Institute of Public Affairs, University Station. 1939. Pp. 16. (15c.)

CORNISH, G. A. *Canadian manufactures before the British conquest* (School, XXVIII (7), March, 1940, 598-601). Lack of encouragement and absence of demand account for the slow development.

Investigation into an alleged combine in the manufacture and sale of paperboard shipping containers and related products: Report of the Commissioner. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 95. (25c.)

Investigation into an alleged combine of wholesalers and shippers of fruit and vegetables in Western Canada: Report of the Commissioner, October 31, 1939. Ottawa: King's Printer. 1939. Pp. 91.

MC CREIGHT, M. I. *Buffalo bone days: A short history of the buffalo bone trade.* Sykesville, Pa.: Nupp Printing Co. 1939. Pp. 40. An account of the traffic in buffalo bones in the American West by one who was engaged in the business. [G. deT. G.]

MCDIARMID, O. J. *Some aspects of the Canadian automobile industry* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 258-74). Inability to attain the full economies of large-scale production has been almost as important as the customs tariff in maintaining higher prices in Canada.

STAPLEFORD, FRANK N. *After twenty years: A short history of the Neighborhood Workers' Association, 1918-1938.* Toronto: The Association, 22 Wellesley Street. 1938. Pp. 58.

STEPHENSON, H. E. and MCNAUGHT, CARLTON. *The story of advertising in Canada: A chronicle of fifty years.* Toronto: Ryerson Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 364. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

(2) Agriculture

BRITNELL, G. E. *Dominion legislation affecting Western agriculture, 1939* (Canadian journal of economics and political science, VI (2), May, 1940, 275-82). Some considerations of the Canadian Wheat Board Amendment Act, the Wheat Co-operative Marketing Act, the Agricultural Products Co-operative Act, and the Prairie Farm Assistance Act.

Canada, Department of Labour. *Report on rural relief due to drought conditions and crop failures in Western Canada, 1930-1937.* Ottawa. 1939. Pp. 130.

RICHARDS, A. E. *Agricultural co-operation in Canada* (Proceedings of the International Conference of Agricultural Economists, held at Macdonald College, Canada, Aug. 21-28, 1938; London, 1939, 357-67). In comparison with Canada's fifteen leading manufacturing industries, farmers' co-operatives rank first in number of establishments, fourth in capital invested, and third in gross sales value of products.

(3) Immigration, Emigration, Colonization, Population, and Population Groups

BARBEAU, MARIUS. *The North Pacific coast: Its human mosaic* (Canadian geographical journal, XX (3), March, 1940, 142-55). Throws light upon the mixture of races which has led to a puzzling diversity of population.

DUBLIN, FRANCES. *Jewish colonial enterprise in the light of the Amherst Papers (1758-1763).* (Reprinted from Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society, no. 35.) 1939. Pp. 25. Jews mentioned in the Amherst papers fall into two groups: those pursuing some branch of trade and commerce, and those engaged in the actual fighting of the inter-colonial wars.

HANSEN, MARCUS LEE. *The Atlantic migration 1607-1860: A history of the continuing settlement of the United States.* Edited with a foreword by ARTHUR M. SCHLESINGER. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press. 1940. Pp. xviii, 391. (\$3.50) To be reviewed later.

MALCHELOSSE, GÉRARD. *Les premières familles juives au Canada* (Le Bien Public, Trois-Rivières, fév.-avril, 1939). A series of ten articles containing genealogical sketches of the Hart, Judah, Joseph, Solomons, and Hayes families.

MILLESTONE, M. SHELLY. *How to become a Canadian citizen.* Toronto: Francis White. 1939. Pp. 30. (10c.)

MOE, GEORG. *Den første partiledet av norsk ætt i Kanada* (Norrona Canadian, Winnipeg, Sept. 28, 1939). A sketch of Chester A. Ronning, first party leader of Norwegian stock in Canada.

OLESON, G. J. *Sögu-agrip Islendinga í Sudur-Cypress sveitinni í Manitoba* (Almanak, Winnipeg, 1939, 24-56). Summary history of Icelanders in South Cypress district of Manitoba.

PÉTURSSON, RÖGNVALDUR. *Islenskir Vesturfarar med "Nestorian," 1882* (Tímarit Thjodráknisfjelags Íslendinga, Winnipeg, 1939, 19-22). An account of the Icelandic migrants to the West by the *S.S. Nestorian* in 1882.

Poles in Canada: Their contribution to Canadian development. (Published on the occasion of the 5th Convention of the Federation of Polish Societies in Canada at Montreal, Que., 1938.) Winnipeg: Federation of Polish Societies of Canada. 1938. Pp. 76.

ROSENBERG, LOUIS. *Canada's Jews: Social and economic study of Jews in Canada.* Montreal: Bureau of Social and Economic Research, Canadian Jewish Congress, 2040 Bleury Street. 1939. Pp. 418.

SALVERSON, LAURA GOODMAN. *Confessions of an immigrant's daughter.* London: Faber [Toronto: Ryerson Press]. 1939. Pp. 523. (\$2.50) Biographical sketches in social history, valuable as data for studying the background of New-Canadian culture.

STECHISHIN, MIROSLAV. *Ukrayintsi v Manitoba* (Ukrayinsky Holos, Winnipeg, Dec. 13, 1939). Deals with Ukrainians in Manitoba.

(4) Geography

ATWOOD, WALLACE W. *The physiographic provinces of North America.* Boston: Ginn and Co. 1940. Pp. xvi, 536. (\$4.80) To be reviewed later.

BOUGHNER, C. C. *The climate of the Atlantic provinces* (Public affairs, III (3), March, 1940, 114-18). The climate of the Maritime Provinces is the result of both marine and continental influences.

(5) Transportation and Communication

De Québec à Sainte-Anne de Beaupré (B.R.H., XLV (10), oct., 1939, 315-16). The first steamship service was inaugurated in 1844 and the first railway in 1889.

JOHNSON, PHILIP G. *Trans-Canada Air Lines* (Empire Club of Canada, Addresses, 1938-9, 69-82). Portrays the growth, problems, and future possibilities of the Trans-Canada Air Lines.

LAMBERT, R. S. *What about the C.B.C.? Men, programmes, policy and problems of Canada's national radio.* (Food for thought, no. 2, Feb., 1940.) Toronto: Canadian Association for Adult Education. 1940. Pp. 18.

VII. EDUCATIONAL HISTORY

Argosy weekly, Mount Allison University, Sackville, N.B., March 9, 1940: Special number commemorating the hundredth anniversary of the university, containing historical sketches and photographs.

BRUCESI, JEAN. *Adult education and libraries in Quebec* (Ontario library review, XXIV (1), March, 1940, 12-17).

Un demi-siècle au Mont-Saint-Louis, 1888-1938. (L'Album jubilaire.) Montréal: Impr. De-La-Salle. 1939. Pp. 647. (\$10.00) An account of Mont-Saint-Louis College, Montreal.

FALCONER, Sir ROBERT A. *Universities on their defence* (Quarterly review of commerce, VII (3), spring, 1940, 107-16). The former President of the University of Toronto replies to criticisms that the universities have failed to make any contribution to the social enlightenment of the Canadian people.

FETHERSTONHAUGH, R. C. *The grounds and campus of McGill* (McGill news, XXI (3), spring, 1940, 17-18, 62). Article sketching the possibilities of writing a history of the McGill campus.

- LEBEL, MAURICE. *Suggestions pratiques sur notre enseignement*. Ottawa: Edns. du Lévrier. 1939. Pp. 227. (75c.) A well-argued plea for a raising of educational standards in the Province of Quebec.
- MARQUIS, PAUL-E. *La restauration économique par l'éducation du peuple: Une expérience—Antigonish*. Montréal: Service de Librairie de l'U.C.C. 1939. Pp. 28. (10c.)
- MASSICOTTE, E.-Z. *Notre premier musée géologique* (B.R.H., XLV (9), sept., 1939, 283-4). The building was first erected in Montreal in 1839 and became the property of the government in 1847. The museum was transferred to Ottawa in 1881.
- MOFFAT, H. P. *The larger school unit: Report of the N.S. Royal Commission* (Public affairs, III (3), March, 1940, 121-6).
- OLIVER, MICHAEL JOSEPH. *Marylake Farm School, King, Ont.: An outline of its work and objects*. Toronto: St. Michael's College. 1939. Pp. 6.
- POULIN, GONZALVE. *Le peuple est-il éducable?* (Documents sociaux.) Montréal: Edns. de L'A. C.-F. 1939. Pp. 149. (75c.) Father Poulin is scathing in his comments on the so-called educational élite of Quebec who feel no responsibility for the illiteracy index of the province.
- SIMARD, GEORGES. *Les universités catholiques: Leurs gloires passées, leurs tâches présentes*. Montréal: Beauchemin. Ottawa: Edns. de l'Université. 1939. Pp. 121. Discusses the role of Catholic universities and of the University of Ottawa in particular.
- THOMSON, JAMES S. *The universities and the war* (Queen's quarterly, XLVII (1), spring, 1940, 2-9).
- WALLACE, MALCOLM W. *Principal Maurice Hutton* (University of Toronto monthly, XXXX (7), April, 1940). An appreciation of the former Principal of University College by his successor.

VIII. BIBLIOGRAPHY

BAGINSKY, PAUL H. *German works relating to America, 1493-1800: A list compiled from the collections of the New York Public Library*. Part X (Bulletin of the New York Public Library, XLIV (1), Jan., 1940, 39-56).

BATESON, NORA. *Library survey of Nova Scotia*. Halifax, N.S.: Department of Education. 1938. Pp. 40. This Survey was prepared by order of the provincial government for the information of municipalities interested in establishing regional libraries in Nova Scotia. It describes the existing public and institutional libraries *seriatim*, and shows how inadequately they supply reading matter to inhabitants of rural, and indeed of urban, areas in the province. Miss Bateson outlines the function of the modern public library in the community, and demonstrates how such a library may be established in a regional centre to serve town and country alike. Several regional or county systems are described—some by their originator, for Miss Bateson has established the most notable systems operating in Canada. The Survey concludes with a plan for organizing similar libraries throughout Nova Scotia, particularly in the County of Cape Breton. The plan indicates essential equipment—building, books, staff, etc.—in the principal towns, and methods of distributing the books through the surrounding districts. It calls for an annual fifty cent per capita expenditure by the municipalities, town and county, participating in the scheme.

In 1937 the government of Nova Scotia passed an act enabling municipalities to tax themselves for regional libraries. The following year it authorized (by 2 Geo. VI, c. 57) the appointment of a provincial commission to promote such enterprise, and in 1939 it enacted (3 Geo. VI, c. 62) regulations for regional library administration. At the same time it authorized contribution by the province of a sum up to one-third that raised by the municipalities for the support of their regional system. Thus Nova Scotia has the basis—plan, legislation, and need,

for the best provincial library service in the Dominion. A publication has recently been announced: *Libraries in Nova Scotia* by the Provincial Library Commission, Halifax, 1939, which may tell how far this ideal has been achieved. [MARIE TREMAINE]

Inventory of the church archives of New York State exclusive of New York City. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Professional and Service Projects, Works Progress Administration, Protestant Episcopal Church, Diocese of Western New York. Albany, N.Y.: Historical Records Survey. May, 1939. Pp. 3, xl, 69 (mimeo.). This publication is the first of a series which deserves the notice of Canadian historians. Since imperial statutes prohibited episcopal clergy ordained by an American bishop from officiating in a British colony, one would not expect that this particular publication would contain much information of Canadian interest. Nevertheless, it tells of the services of Davenport Phelps, who was ordained deacon by an American bishop and yet took services on both sides of the Niagara River in 1802. Heretofore, this information was preserved in one obscure source. The volumes on Methodist, Dutch Reformed, and Universalist archives will be anticipated with eagerness, for in the early days those New York bodies considered Upper Canada a part of their field, and their archives must contain much purely Canadian material. [J. J. TALMAN]

LIVESAY, J. F. B. *The Canadian Press: Its birth and development.* (Reprinted from Quebec Chronicle-Telegraph, June 21, 1939.) Toronto: Canadian Press, secretary. J. F. B. Livesay, 44 Victoria Street. 1939. Pp. 19.

McKim's directory of Canadian publications, 1939, ed. 32. Montreal: McKim. 1939, Pp. 484. (\$3.00)

MCMURTRIE, DOUGLAS CRAWFORD. *A tribute to the early printers of Niagara region, being an expression of respect for the first printers of Montreal, Ottawa, Toronto, Rochester and Buffalo by the Niagara District Conference of the International Association of Printing House Craftsmen, meeting in Buffalo, May 26 and 27, 1939.* Buffalo: Printed for the Conference by the Phoenix Press. 1939. Pp. 14.

MARIE-RAYMOND, Sœur. *Bio-bibliographie du R. P. Georges Simard, O.M.I.* Montréal: Beauchemin. 1939. Pp. 68. A study of the writings of the Abbé Georges Simard, professor of ecclesiastical history at the University of Ottawa.

MERCIER, MARCEL. *Bibliographie de Louis Dantin.* Saint-Jérôme, P.Q.: J.-H.-A. Labelle. 1939. Pp. 75. (75c.) A study of the writings of the poet and critic, Louis Dantin.

RAY, MARGARET. *The library collection on local church history* (Victoria Library bulletin, Victoria University, II (1), Feb., 1940, [1-4]).

Reading in Toronto, 1939: Being the fifty-sixth annual report of the Toronto Public Library Board for the year 1939. Toronto: Ryerson Press. [1940]. Pp. 43. Various aspects of the work of the library are described. Of particular interest to students of Canadian history are the preparation of a volume on eighteenth-century Canadiana and the progress of microphotography. [G. deT. G.]

Société des écrivains canadiens. *Troisième bulletin bibliographique.* Montréal: La Société, Ecole Normale. 1939. Pp. 21.

WESTON, SYDNEY M. *Publications of the government of British Columbia, 1871-1937: A checklist.* Victoria, B.C.: King's Printer. Pp. 167. This volume, which contains all the known official publications of British Columbia from the time it entered Confederation to 1937, is the first of its kind to appear for any province. It will be an invaluable book of reference for the historian, and will help toward a readier use of that rich mine of government publications in Canada to which there are so few guides. The documents are arranged under executive publications, publications of departments, and of boards and commissions. For each body there is a note of explanation. A brief index will serve to make an admirably clear list more easily used for topics. [G. deT. G.]

NOTES AND COMMENTS

A SURVEY OF CANADIAN HISTORICAL MUSEUMS

In our last issue it was announced that a survey of Canadian historical museums was being prepared by Miss Gwendolen Kidd of the National Gallery, Ottawa. The survey has now been completed, and great care has been taken to make it as accurate and comprehensive as possible. The survey is considerably longer than anticipated, and this together with a greater pressure than usual of other material has led us to hold the survey until the September issue. Meanwhile we shall welcome any item of information that has been inadvertently missed, or shall be glad to supply an advance copy on request.

CANADIAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 22-24, 1940

Under the title "Carry On" the *Winnipeg Free Press* of May 22 printed an editorial strongly urging the Royal Society, the Canadian Historical Association, and the Canadian Political Science Association, which held their meetings in London during the week of May 20-4, to keep up their activities as an important contribution to the national welfare at the present time. "These meetings will be the first held by those groups while the shadows and uncertainties of this war hang over the Dominion. It is to be fervently hoped that when their next annual meetings come around, that shadow will have gone! But if, as the months advance, there seems no likelihood of that, then may these societies carry on, even restrictedly, their peacetime efforts. Not only could many studies be undertaken that might throw light on war-time problems, and problems that will arise when the war is over, but every effort should be made to prevent Canada's intellectual activities from wavering." Canadian historians are fully conscious of their responsibilities as suggested in the timely comment of the *Free Press*, and we believe that all who attended the recent sessions of the Canadian Historical Association felt in the meetings an underlying current of serious purpose which was directly related to the needs of the critical period through which we are passing.

The meeting was an excellent one in every respect. The local arrangements were admirably managed; all parts of the Dominion were represented; the careful thought and hard work of the programme committee were manifest at every stage of the programme, and all the papers were on a high level of excellence. They will be printed in the Association's annual *Report* which is this year to be edited by Mr. R. G. Riddell of the University of Toronto. The titles are: "Hopes Raised by Steam in 1840," D. C. Harvey, Public Archives, Nova Scotia; "Canada's Bid for the Traffic of the Middlewest: A Quarter-century of the History of the St. Lawrence Waterway, 1849-74," Samuel McKee, Jr., Columbia University; "T. C. Keefer and the Development of Canadian Transportation," D. C. Masters, United College; "Manitoba Politics and Parties after Confederation," R. O. MacFarlane, University of Manitoba; "Sir John Macdonald in Caricature," A. R. M. Lower, United College; "Canada and Sanctions in the Italo-Ethiopian Conflict," Miss Gwendolen M. Carter, Wellesley College; "The European-Canadians" (a study of newspapers published in Canada in languages other than French and English), Watson Kirkconnell, Winnipeg; "The Frontier in the History of New France," A. L. Burt, University of Minnesota; "Latin American Frontiers," A. S. Aiton, University of Michigan; "Western Canada and the Frontier Thesis," G. F. G. Stanley, Mount Allison University. The presidential address by Professor Bartlet Brebner of Columbia University was a penetrating and challenging analysis of the

qualities which underlie the development of a Canadian national spirit. The following papers were read at a joint session with the Canadian Political Science Association: "The Growth of Government Activities in Canada, 1914-21," J. A. Corry, Queen's University; "War Finance and the Canadian Economy, 1914-21," J. J. Deutsch, Queen's University. Professor Corry's paper will be printed in the Historical Association's *Report* and Professor Deutsch's in the August number of the *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science*.

Officers were elected as follows: President, G. Lanctot, Ottawa; vice-president, F. Landon, London; secretary-treasurer, Norman Fee, Ottawa; French secretary, Séraphin Marion, Ottawa; members of council to retire in 1943, R. Flenley, Toronto, Kaye Lamb, Victoria, Watson Kirkconnell, Winnipeg, the Abbé Arthur Maheux, Quebec.

Several matters of interest and importance which were discussed at the business meeting and by the council can here only be mentioned. E. R. Adair, chairman of the committee appointed to keep in touch with the International Committee of Historical Sciences, submitted a list of Canadian newspapers prepared under his direction by Miss J. Lunn for the Commission de l'histoire de la presse of the International Committee. The formation of the Social Science Research Council of Canada was reported with a draft of its constitution, and R. G. Trotter was named as the Association's representative. G. Glazebrook, chairman, and R. G. Riddell, secretary of the radio committee, reported that considerable progress had been made in arranging for co-operation with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in the presentation of historical broadcasts. Special consideration was given to the report of the committee appointed last autumn to investigate and recommend means of encouraging the preservation of records of all kinds pertaining to Canada's participation in the war. The committee was enlarged and now includes: R. G. Trotter, chairman, E. R. Adair, G. W. Brown, the Abbé Maheux, J. J. Talman. A fuller comment on this matter is given below.

HISTORICAL RECORDS AND THE CANADIAN WAR EFFORT

A nation which fails to understand the basic character of its institutions and the pattern of its development is lacking one of the elements essential to self-preservation. Without historical records, public and private, we can have no such understanding now or in the future. The council of the Canadian Historical Association, believing that this fact should not be forgotten in the midst of pressing needs at this critical time, appointed a committee last autumn and discussed the matter fully at the annual meeting of the Association in London on May 22-4. It was decided that the Association could best make a contribution by urging on governments, historical societies, libraries, newspapers, business leaders, and others, the importance of preserving records not only of the war effort but of the effect of the war on every aspect of Canadian life; and that the Association might assist by making suggestions and by offering to help in the solution of practical problems as they might arise. A permanent committee was appointed, and the following letter, embodying a resolution of the Association, was approved to be sent to the Prime Minister of the Dominion and the Premiers of the provinces:

"The Canadian Historical Association, at its annual meeting held in London, Ontario, May 22-4, adopted unanimously the following resolution: 'That this Association express its sense of the great importance, in the national interest as well as in the interest of historical scholarship, that records of Canada's part in the

present war, official and unofficial, should be preserved for posterity in such manner as to make them available for the largest use, and therefore would urge upon governmental authorities and unofficial organizations the importance of keeping this purpose in mind in the disposition of all records of the war period.'

"The Association, confident that you are in sympathy with its purpose in this matter, in which the needs of the future demand a definite policy in the present, instructed its Committee on Preservation of Records to inform you of its action.

"Organizations throughout the country such as libraries, library associations, and historical societies, are being asked to co-operate. During the course of the next few weeks this committee will prepare a memorandum on the various procedures which it would judge suitable for institutions and organizations which may be good enough to co-operate in this service."

The participation of Canada in the War of 1914 to 1918 had effects of the most far-reaching character on the Dominion's development. They are to be seen not only in the record of Canada's magnificent military effort, but also in the profound economic and political changes which marked the emergence of Canada as a nation in the tangled scene of world affairs. Every aspect of the war period must be studied for years to come not only by historians interested in history as such, but by all those who are responsible for the framing of public policy. For many of our most acute problems, political, social, and economic, the war years were a critical period. Canada has now entered on another war, the effects of which on our national development are likely to be no less far-reaching even though they may be very different. It should be an obligation on everyone who can exercise any influence in the matter to see to it that all the significant records of these important years are adequately protected for future use. Historical societies and interested individuals can do much to ensure that the records of all local organizations whose activities are at all concerned with the war are preserved, whether these organizations are permanent or temporary in character. In the final analysis, however, the primary obligation rests on governments, Dominion, provincial, and municipal, each in its own sphere of responsibility. If public bodies will not discharge this debt to themselves and to posterity there is little hope of any effective action. Records once destroyed are irreplaceable, and the destruction of valuable records is therefore an injury to the nation for which there is no redress. Canada can show admirable examples of care in the preservation of records, but she can also show even more numerous examples of appalling neglect and destruction.

Not all records have sufficient historical value to warrant their preservation. This is an age of vast accumulations of records, and governments as well as private organizations everywhere are embarrassed with the problem. Much should be destroyed but this should be done only after careful examination by experts. Even they will have great difficulty in many cases in deciding whether documents will have future value. There will undoubtedly be a great deal of material in various parts of the country, in addition to government records, which will be worthy of preservation and some of it will be of sufficient importance in relation to the national effort to deserve space and archival organization at the Dominion Archives in Ottawa. We understand that Major Lanctot, the Dominion archivist, wishes to secure such material, and that he would be pleased to have information which would enable him to decide whether materials brought to his attention would be suitably placed in the archives. In some provinces archives are well enough organized to be able to do valuable work of a similar kind. In the other provinces the present is not an unsuitable time to urge on governments that in the

midst of more pressing problems they should give a lead in encouraging respect for the history of the communities for which they are responsible.

"A wise nation preserves its records, gathers up its muniments, decorates the tombs of its illustrious dead, repairs its great public structures, and fosters national pride and love of country, by perpetual reference to the sacrifices and glories of the past." The words of Joseph Howe on the significance of historical records have gained force as the Dominion has moved from colonialism into the wider responsibilities of nationhood.

TWO NEW SOCIETIES

At the last meeting of the American Historical Association, which was held in Washington in December, two new societies were projected whose work will have considerable interest for Canadian historians. They are an Industrial History Society, and a society for co-ordinating the work of historical societies and related agencies. Dr. Albert V. House of Washington, D.C., was selected as secretary by the group interested in forming the Industrial History Society, and the prospect of establishing a large organization appears encouraging. The history of industry in Canada, on which only a beginning has been made, and the close relation of Canadian industry to industry in the United States offer important fields of investigation to those interested in the proposed society.

The Conference of Historical Societies, which was held at the meeting of the American Historical Association, discussed the advisability of forming an organization. A committee was appointed to investigate the question and make recommendations at the next meeting of the Conference. Mr. C. C. Crittenden, secretary of the North Carolina Historical Commission, was named chairman, and Miss Dorothy C. Barck of the New York Historical Society, secretary. Mr. Crittenden has written to the REVIEW to say that one or more Canadians will be included in the committee, and to express the wish that Canadian societies will take part if an organization is formed. The proceedings and papers of the conference held in December are being published.

The CANADIAN HISTORICAL REVIEW takes pleasure in extending its felicitations to Dr. Pierre-Georges Roy, archivist of the province of Quebec, who has rendered a unique service to the cause of history in his own province and in the Dominion. We believe it is just fifty years since he published his first volume *Le premier Voyage de Cartier au Canada* under the pseudonym of Raoul de Tilly. Among M. Roy's achievements the most remarkable is without doubt his forty-six years' editorship of the *Bulletin des recherches historiques*. The *Bulletin* has made an invaluable contribution to Canadian historical writing, and a complete file is a prized possession in any library. We trust that M. Roy may round out a half-century as editor, and if he then aspires to the celebration of his diamond jubilee as writer and editor, so much the better.

The seventeenth annual session of the Queen's University Summer School of Historical Research at the Public Archives in Ottawa will be under the direction of Professor Gerald S. Graham and will begin on July 2. The plans are designed to meet the individual needs of those engaged in research and also of students and teachers with a more general interest. For the latter a shortened course July 2-15 is available. Inquiries should be addressed to the Department of University Extension, Queen's University, Kingston, Ontario.

The *Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Quarterly* for October last contains a list prepared by Dr. William D. Overman of some forty studies dealing with the history of Ohio or the Ohio valley which are in progress or have been recently completed. A *History of Ohio* under the general editorship of Professor Carl Wittke is in an advanced stage of preparation. The history of Ohio has many points of contact and comparison with that of central Canada, and the work which Mr. Wittke is editing will undoubtedly have an interest for Canadian historians.

BOOK-NOTES FOR TEACHERS

(These notes are of necessity selective. Suggestions will be appreciated.)

Pamphlets and periodical literature of contemporary interest. Last autumn a section for the war was begun in our "List of Recent Publications relating to Canada." This is published in each issue and provides a cumulative guide to the most important articles as well as books. In these notes for teachers a number of references have also been made to the many excellent pamphlets now available at a low price. The Oxford Press has recently added to its list of ten-cent pamphlets: *The Challenge of Liberty* by Viscount Halifax; *The Life and Growth of the British Empire* by J. A. Williamson; *How Britain's Resources Are Mobilized* by Max Nicholson. The second number in the series published jointly by the Canadian Institute of International Affairs and the Canadian Association for Adult Education has now appeared: *The French-Canadian Press and the War* by Florent Lefebvre (Toronto, Halifax, Ryerson)—a very informative brief treatment of an important subject (see p. 223). The third instalment of *The Oxford Periodical History of the War*, covering January to March, 1940, by Edgar McInnis, was published in April (91-154 pp., 25c.).

A Short History of the Americas by R. S. Cotterill (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1939, xviii, 459 pp., \$2.50). The history of the American continents has, up to the present, been largely written in terms of individual countries. We are now entering a period when there will be much synthesis along continental lines. Mr. Cotterill's book is a pioneer attempt and should be judged as such. It is well worth reading by those who have little knowledge of historical developments south of the Canadian boundary, but it has many serious omissions. It gives, for instance, little suggestion of the process, now four centuries old, of forming a European-American culture, or of the rich and diverse results achieved in the various parts of the two continents. The treatment of Canada is well-intentioned but weak. It completely fails to make clear, for example, the nature or significance of the process by which Canada developed to nationhood through an evolution of a century and a half, in sharp contrast to the process elsewhere in America which was marked by wars of independence. (G.W.B.)

Canada's Romantic Heritage: The Story of New France, by E. C. Woodley (Toronto, J. M. Dent & Sons, 1940, 288 pp., \$3.00). This is a general history of New France. Its author holds an important position in the Department of Education of the Province of Quebec; and, in several important ways, the volume is admirably adapted for use in schools. It is attractively produced and amply illustrated; it is clearly and simply written and attains a good deal of narrative interest, particularly in such chapters as that on "The Le Moynes: Paladins of New France." On the other hand, the material used is somewhat narrowly political in character; and in its treatment of social and cultural matters, the volume is rather skimpy and traditional. (D.G.C.)

Pioneer Travel by E. C. Guillet (Early life in Upper Canada series, book IV; Toronto, Ontario Publishing Co., 1939, viii, 176 pp., 75c.). Mr. Guillet has here

added another of his welcome books for high-school students. The textual material seems rather over-loaded with detail to make easy reading, but it is not easy to avoid details in the history of transportation. The first half of the nineteenth century perhaps gets undue emphasis, although it is true that the changes in that period were very significant. Students will, however, be interested in this book, especially as the illustrations have been well chosen.

Across the Ages: The Story of Man's Progress by L. I. Capen (New York, American Book Co., 1940, x, 842, li pp., \$2.20) may be highly recommended for any high-school library. It is not a text-book in the ordinary sense, although there is a suggestion of chronological treatment from the first "unit" which deals largely with prehistoric man to the last, entitled "The Rise of World Powers." The purpose is primarily to present a survey of the development of man's habits of life and thought, of his culture; and this is done by a series of topical "units." The illustrations, the questions and reading suggestions at the ends of chapters, and other features are calculated to arouse a real historical curiosity. The following are a few of the "unit" subjects: "Transportation, the Story of the Conquest of Distance"; "Language and Literature, the Story of Communication"; "Man, the Organizer, the Story of Government."

CANADIAN HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

British Columbia Historical Association, Vancouver Section. We have received excellent summaries from the secretary, Miss Helen R. Boutelier, of papers presented at recent meetings. We regret that we cannot print them in full. In December, Mr. L. Le Bourdais, M.L.A. for Cariboo, spoke on "Bedrock Men of Barkerville"; using diaries of prospectors for many of his interesting anecdotes of the gold-rush period. David Douglas, the Scottish scientist who has given his name to the outstanding commercial tree of British Columbia, was described by Mr. A. G. Harvey at the February meeting. Douglas arrived in 1833 and was killed in 1834, but not before he did a remarkable work. He was the pioneer botanist of North West America and made two hundred and fifty-four plants known to the world. Dr. N. Y. Williams, head of the Department of Geography and Geology at the University of British Columbia, described the history and development of the Peace River area at the March meeting.

The Canadian Catholic Historical Association has published its annual report for 1938-9. The articles are listed individually in our List of Recent Publications. The following are the principal officers for 1939-40: President-general, the Rev. Lionel Groulx; *English section*, president, the Hon. W. H. McGuire; secretary, Dr. J. F. Kenney, 133 Rideau Terrace, Ottawa; *French section*, president, Victor Morin; secretary, Séraphin Marion, the Public Archives, Ottawa.

The Huron Institute of Collingwood has published as volume III of its *Papers and Records* a catalogue of the pictures and ship models in its museum collection; 2,735 items are listed and briefly described and a nominal index is provided. The catalogue might have been more valuable had it had a classification by subjects. Nevertheless it is a welcome key to the museum's extremely important collection which records in particular the history of shipping on the upper lakes. Mr. David Williams, past president of the Ontario Historical Society and moving spirit in the Institute's work, is to be congratulated on the results of his unceasing efforts of many years.

Miramichi Historical Society. We have received from Miss Louise Manny of Newcastle, N.B., an interesting letter describing the work of this society whose name has only recently come to our attention. The society is building up a col-

lection of museum pieces, documents, pamphlets, photographs, minute books of local societies, and newspapers. Miss Manny's letter, which shows that the society has a clear appreciation of the kind of work which may be done, reads in part as follows: "We have made a systematic effort to trace early clergymen, doctors, pioneer settlers, the history of old houses and other buildings. Accounts of ships built on the Miramichi (from the early newspapers), forming a sort of check-list of several hundred names, have been published in the local papers, and copies of old advertisements of schools, entertainments, political events have been roughly classified and printed, making a sort of source-book for the social and political history of the Miramichi. We have had printed in the local papers several memoirs by old inhabitants, diaries, letters. At present I am reprinting the Minutes of the Sessions of Northumberland County, dating from 1789, with notes on the persons mentioned, gathered from the Memorials in the Crown Land Office in Fredericton. As you see, our work is entirely local, but we are making a serious effort to preserve traditions which are rapidly passing away."

New Brunswick Historical Society. Last autumn through the efforts of Mr. G. H. Markham, president of the society, there were returned from England to Saint John the colours and silver trumpet of the 104th New Brunswick Regiment. These notable historical relics which have been placed in the New Brunswick Museum, were presented by Mrs. James Hunter of Anton's Hill, Coldstream, Berwickshire, Scotland, and her daughters, Mrs. Austen G. Bates and Mrs. C. E. Wilson. Mrs. Hunter's husband, Colonel James Hunter, was a grandson of Major-General Sir Martin Hunter, colonel of the 104th, who from 1803 to about 1814 was commander of the forces in the Maritime Provinces and at three different times was military and civil administrator of New Brunswick. The 104th was raised as the New Brunswick Regiment of Fencible Infantry in 1803 and had a distinguished career, being ordered to Europe and taken into the British line in 1810 during the struggle against Napoleon. During the War of 1812 it made the famous mid-winter march from New Brunswick to Quebec. It was disbanded in 1817. Mr. Markham has for some years been gathering material for a comprehensive history of the regiment.

The Niagara Historical Society has issued its 44th annual report and also its Publication no. 44 which contains the last of the series "Records of Niagara" edited by the late General Cruikshank. This number brings the account of the early days of the settlement to July, 1813. The society held four meetings during the year. The report records an active interest in the historical restorations and historic sites of the district as well as in the society's museum which continues to attract a large number of visitors—some 1200 registered during the year. President, the Rev. C. H. E. Smith; vice-presidents, J. M. Mussen, W. H. Harrison; secretaries, Miss C. Creed, Miss G. Carnochan; curator, Miss C. Creed.

The Ontario Historical Society is holding its annual meeting in Orillia on June 20 and 21. Particulars of the papers and other features of the programme may be obtained from Mr. J. McE. Murray, Normal School, Toronto.

Thompson Valley and District Historical and Museum Association. The secretary reports that the Association has recently been able to supply information and assistance to writers and also for the marking of historic sites. He mentions in particular in this connection the sites along the famed Cariboo Road, which are being marked by the provincial government; an article on North Thompson roads by R. M. Corning in the *British Columbia Public Works Magazine* of March, 1940; and a history of the Harper brothers, pioneer stockmen of British Columbia from 1862, now being prepared by Mr. F. W. Laing of Victoria, B.C.

